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ROBERT DODSLEY

*BY THE SAME AUTHOR*

JOHN BASKERVILLE : A MEMOIR

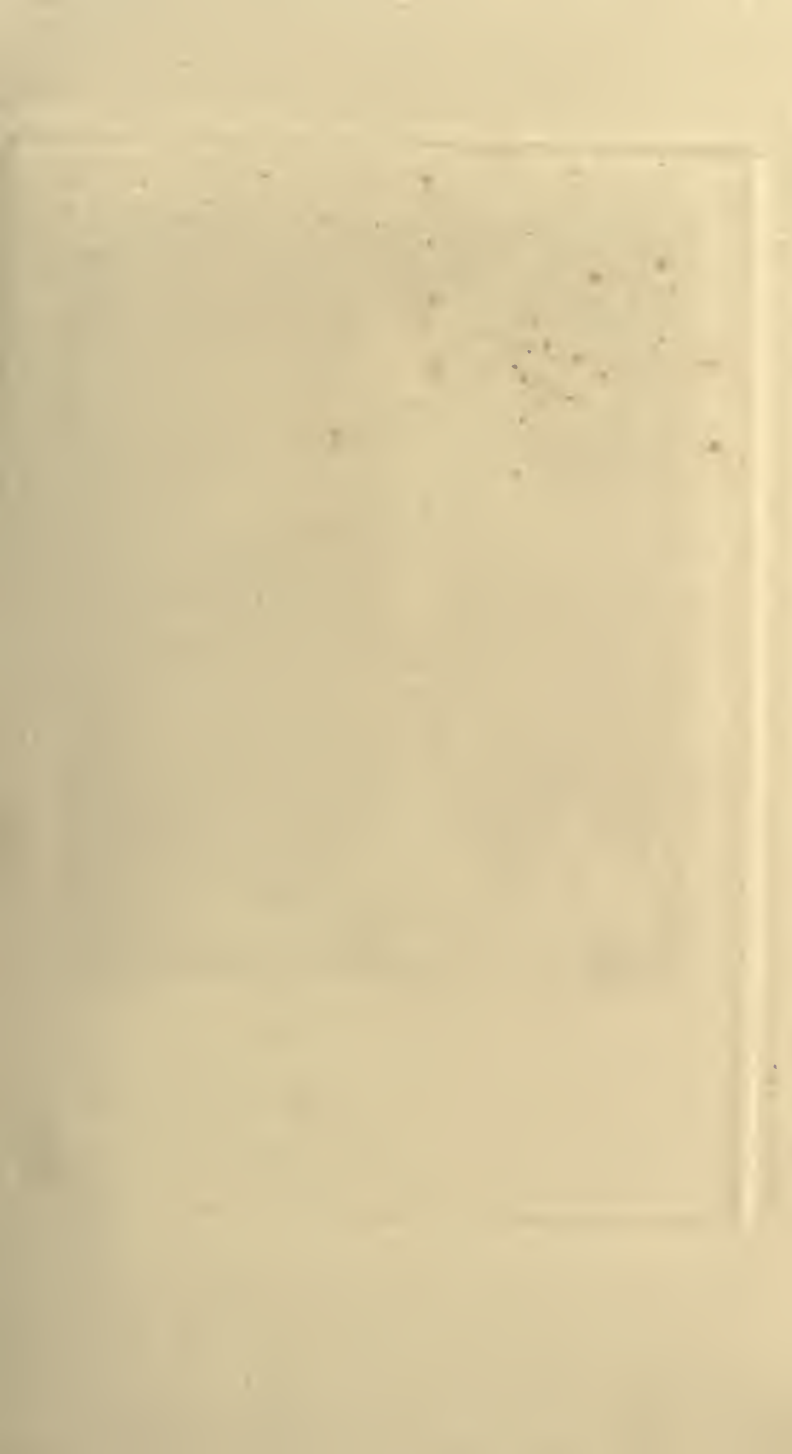
(With ROBERT K. DENT)

THE MAN APART

THE LITTLE GOD'S DRUM

THE SCANDALOUS MR WALDO

THE DUST WHICH IS GOD







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*Robert Dodsley*

*From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds,  
now in the possession of H. Yates Thompson Esq.*

#58400

# ROBERT DODSLEY

POET, PUBLISHER & PLAYWRIGHT  
BY RALPH STRAUS   WITH  
A PHOTOGRAVURE PORTRAIT AND  
TWELVE OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD  
NEW YORK JOHN LANE COMPANY MCMX

*Turnbull & Spears, Printers, Edinburgh*



TO  
AUSTIN DOBSON  
WHO OF ALL WRITERS HAS MOST SURELY TOUCHED  
THE ATMOSPHERE OF DODSLEY'S TIMES  
I AM PERMITTED TO DEDICATE  
THIS BOOK



## PREFACE

**B**IOGRAPHIES of eighteenth century worthies multiply exceedingly at the present day, and it might seem that the appearance of a life of Robert Dodsley should be heralded by an apology. Instead I prefer to quote a sentence from Isaac Reed's eulogy of the publisher-poet, which explains the attractiveness of such a subject. 'It was his happiness,' he says, 'to pass the greater part of his life with those whose names will be revered by posterity.' Dodsley, indeed, seems most unjustly to have escaped the historian's notice. Beyond Mr Tedder's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Mr Austin Dobson's entertaining vignette '*At Tully's Head*,' and scattered, though useful, notes in various volumes of *Notes and Queries*, little if anything has of late been written about him. In his own century a few short and incorrect notices occur in the magazines, but that is all. Yet in his day he was a man who rose to considerable literary eminence, and introduced a dozen or more men of front rank to the public; and the following pages embrace the attempt to give a deserved prominence

to the man who was a protégé of Defoe and Pope, Dr Johnson's friend and 'patron,' and the publisher for Gray, Sterne, and Edmund Burke.

New material in some abundance has come to hand. The British Museum possesses the volume of Dodsley's letters to William Shenstone (Add. MSS. 28,959), which was bound by the poet in 1759, besides other collections of contemporary letters in which frequent mention is made of the publisher and his various schemes. With one exception (Add. MSS. 28,221, which my friend Professor Hans Hecht of the University of Basle has printed under the title of *Thomas Percy und William Shenstone ein Briefwechsel aus der Entstehungszeit der Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, Strassburg, 1909), none of these have been published. An even more interesting collection of Dodsley's letters (as originally composed by him in a letter-book) is in the Birmingham Free Libraries. Altogether nearly two hundred letters to or from him have passed through my hands.

I wish to express my warmest thanks to the following persons: To Mr Austin Dobson and Mr Edmund Gosse for their assistance; to Mr H. Yates Thompson for permission to reproduce Dodsley's portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, now in his possession; to Mr A. Buxton of Mansfield for particulars of the Free School there; to Mr A. M. Broadley for permission to print two letters in his collection; to Mr Charles Dodsley

of Birkenhead for lending me certain documents, formerly the property of Dodsley's father ; to Mrs Dodsley of the Hall Farm, Stoney Houghton, for permission to reproduce Dodsley's clock ; to Mr A. Stapleton of Nottingham, for assistance in the first chapter ; to Messrs Sotheran & Sons for their kindness in allowing me to print for the first time the original agreement between Edmund Burke and the Dodsleys for the *Annual Register* ; to Mr G. W. Harris for help with the text ; to Mr Robert A. Peddie, of the St Bride Technical Library, for great assistance in the bibliography ; and, above all, to Mrs Robert Dodsley of Skegby Hall, Mansfield, a great grand-niece by marriage of Dodsley's, who has assisted me in every possible way ; to her patient researches, indeed, carried on during a number of years, I am indebted for almost every one of the facts relating to Dodsley's birth and family.

RALPH STRAUS.

LONDON, *March* 1910.



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ROBERT DODSLEY

## ON TULLY'S HEAD IN PALL MALL

To Mr R. Dodsley, on his writing *Cleone*, 1756

I.

Where Tully's bust and honour'd name  
Point out the venal page,  
There *Dodsley* consecrates to fame  
The classics of his age.

2.

In vain the poets, from their mine,  
Extract the shining mass,  
Till Dodsley's mint has stamp'd the coin,  
And bid the sterling pass.

3.

Yet he, I ween, in *Cæsar's* days,  
A nobler fate had found ;  
Dodsley himself with verdant bays  
Had been by *Cæsar* crown'd.

4.

His bust near *Tully's* had been plac'd,  
Himself a classic bard ;  
His works Apollo's temple grac'd,  
And met their just reward.

5.

But still, my friend, be virtue, sense,  
And competence thy share ;  
And think each boon, that courts dispense,  
Beneath a poet's care.

6.

Persist to grace this humbler post ;  
Be *Tully's* head the sign ;  
Till future booksellers shall boast  
To vend their tomes at *thine*.

RICHARD GRAVES.

# ROBERT DODSLEY

## CHAPTER I

### BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS TO 1735

CURIOSLY enough the birth of Robert Dodsley was surrounded, until a few months ago, by a certain mystery which seemed likely to remain unsolved for all time.

Most of the biographers have supposed that he was born at or near Mansfield in Nottinghamshire, in 1703, but they give no particulars. Dodsley himself in one of his poems speaks of his 'native Sherwood,' and throughout his life shows an interest in Mansfield, but, like his biographers, makes no definite statement. On the other hand Laird, in his *Topography of Notts*, has no hesitation in saying that he was born over the Yorkshire border, in point of fact in the village of Anston; but Laird, like the others, gives no evidence. There is, indeed, no mention of Dodsley's birth in any parish register. It has long been known, however, that his next two brothers were born at Mansfield, and so, not unnaturally, that town was supposed to be his actual birthplace. And, indeed, this would seem to be the truth. Very fortunately there is still in existence an old manuscript-book which formerly belonged to one John Lode, a bygone parish clerk

of Mansfield. This Lode held his post from 1698 to 1718, and seems to have taken a large measure of interest in the social events of his town. He kept a book for the purpose of setting down every fact of local interest which came to his notice. Several pages of this 'John Lode's Book,' as it has come to be called, contain a 'Register of Quakers and other Dissenters,' and in this register occurs a definite statement of Dodsley's birth. At the end of the year 1703 (o.s.) may be seen the following entry :

' feeb. 13 Robert the Son of R. Dodsley born '

This, then, is the only evidence of the date of Dodsley's birth, but it may be taken to be correct.

The Dodsleys themselves are a very old Midland family. So early as the thirteenth century their name occurs in various documents. In 1521, there is mention of a Sir (Rev.) Jamys Daddesley,<sup>1</sup> Clerk of St Peter le Poor in London, who left certain money to his sister at Newark. The family seems to have settled originally at Bottesford in Leicestershire—there were Robert Dodsleys there, and nowhere else so early, in 1537—but some branches migrated to Nottingham and Mansfield and the neighbourhood during Elizabeth's reign. There is mention of a 'Dodslye, barbar,' who seems to have broken the law in Nottingham by encouraging 'games before service,' in July 1573. A John Dodsley, who may

<sup>1</sup> The name is spelt in several ways—Dodsley, Dadslie, Dodesley, Doddesley, Daddesley, Dodslie, Dodslye, and Doydslye all occurring.

Dec 3. Rebecca yr Daught of Tho: Hason  
 was born & baptiz'd Dec. 31  
 January 22 Sarah yr Daught of  
 Samuel Bover born - -  
 Feb 13 Robert the Son of R. Dodsley born  
 Quakers & Dissenters born 1704  
 March 30 Ann yr Dau of Sam: Shepard  
 June 6 Elizabeth yr Daught  
 of W<sup>m</sup> Coulter  
 July 19 yr Dau of J<sup>n</sup>. Whitward  
 Aug 27 Joseph the Son of Nat: Whately  
 Oct 1 R. Sciah yr Son of The Frost  
 Janu: 14 Sarah the D. of J<sup>n</sup>. Swan  
 March 7 George yr Son of  
 John Hopwell born -

PAGE FROM 'JOHN LODE'S BOOK,' SHOWING  
 ENTRY OF ROBERT DODSLEY'S BIRTH



THE OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT MANSFIELD  
 (From a photograph)





have been a son of the barber, was, in 1615, 'clad in a red gown' during the entertainment given in honour of the King's visit to the town; and ten years later he is supposed to have 'built a porch upon the town ground—no doubt an encroachment upon the street,'<sup>1</sup> a proceeding which rendered him liable to the payment of an increased rent. In 1625 he was Sheriff of Nottingham, and in 1631 he was included in a committee of prominent townsfolk appointed 'to see that certain precautionary measures, designed to keep the plague outside the town, were duly observed.' In 1644 a Robert Dodsley, who may have been a son of this man, married Alice, the daughter or sister of the Rev. Robert Porter, formerly a Derbyshire vicar and one of the refugee Presbyterians who settled at Mansfield, where they worshipped by stealth in each other's houses. This Robert was the great-grandfather of the subject of this memoir. In Mansfield itself the name of Dodsley must long have been familiar. So early as October 1570, the parish register contains the entry of the baptism of Agnes, daughter of Thomas Dodsley, and from that time the name is of fairly frequent occurrence. Here, in this rather prosperous market town, the Dodsleys were farmers and maltsters, widely respected men of some property, and the Robert just mentioned was no exception. In 1648 he was paying the highest rent of some thirty tenants of the Hunger Hills. A son of his, Robert II., married a Mansfield girl (Susannah Dodsley, died 1720), and purchased copyhold property in the town shortly

<sup>1</sup> *New Notes on Robert Dodsley.* A. Stapleton, 1909.

before his death in 1702. In his will he left this property to his wife for her lifetime, and afterwards to his son, Robert III., who was to pay a certain annuity to his sister. This third Robert was baptized at St Peter's Church, Nottingham, on July 3rd, 1681. He seems to have been a remarkable man in many ways. So far from following the rustic pursuits of his ancestors, he chose the ill-paid profession of a schoolmaster, and at the beginning of the century seems to have become either usher or headmaster of the well-known Free School at Mansfield where, years before, Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York, and great-grandfather of the celebrated humourist to whom Dodsley himself was afterwards to play first literary godfather, had been educated before proceeding to Trinity. The schoolmaster has invariably been described as 'a little deformed man, who having had a large family by one wife, married when seventy-five a young girl of seventeen, by whom he had a child.' This statement, however, is not wholly accurate. In 1737, at which date he was still a schoolmaster at Mansfield, he 'personally appeared' before Thomas Berdmore, surrogate, 'alleged that he intended to marry with Sarah Dakyne of the Parish of Mansfield'—she was the daughter of John Dakyne, solicitor and steward of the manor—and gave his age as 'above fifty-five.' In point of fact he must then have been fifty-seven. His children by his first wife, whose maiden name is unknown, were Robert, the bookseller; John and Lucy, twins, baptized at Mansfield, Jan. 1704; Alvory,

baptized Feb. 1706; Alice, baptized Jan. 12th, 1712; Isaac; and James, afterwards Robert's partner and successor in Pall Mall.

The schoolmaster's salary—if indeed he was actually at the Free School, a rather curious post for a Dissenter to hold—cannot have been more than £12 or £16 a year, but his income was not nearly so slender as most of the biographers have, not unnaturally, imagined.<sup>1</sup> His mother may have been able to give him an allowance, and he added to his salary by taking as pupils the sons of neighbouring gentlemen and farmers. In those days the county people who lived at or near Mansfield, chief of whom were the Stanhopes, of which family Lord Chesterfield was the head, closed their houses in the winter and went to Nottingham or London, leaving, in many cases, their sons to be educated at the Free School. In this way Robert Dodsley, senior, must have come by many of his pupils. Two existing manuscripts of his, now in the possession of the Dodsley family, throw considerable light upon his character, and proclaim him to have been a scholar of many parts. He was a good mathematician and a careful educationalist. He was a poet, and wrote essays upon religious themes. In one of the manuscripts exercises in trigonometry and astronomy are to be seen side by side with rules of grammar and hints for the youthful writer, and one may imagine him reciting the following lines—which open a poem of

<sup>1</sup> On his mother's death he purchased more property, mortgaged it, and was released from the mortgage in 1738. This property eventually went to John Dodsley, with that which had been in his grandmother's possession.

considerable length, and presumably his own composition—to his class :

' All letters ev'n at head & foot must stand :  
 Bear light y<sup>e</sup> pen & use a steady hand.  
 Carefully mind to mend in ev'ry line—  
 Down strokes are black but upward strokes are fine.  
 Enlarge your writing if it be too small ;  
 Full in proportion make y<sup>r</sup> letters all.  
 Game not in school time when you ought to write—  
 Hold in your elbow ; stand fair to y<sup>r</sup> light.  
 Join all y<sup>r</sup> letters by a fine hair stroke—  
 Keep free from blots y<sup>r</sup> piece & writing book.'

One is reminded of the couplet which Swift wrote for Stella's benefit :

' If paper be thin, ink will slip in ;  
 But if it be thick, you may write with a stick,'

a maxim which, he says, ' is a common caution that writing masters give their scholars.'

One of the manuscripts is ornamented with coloured drawings and picturesque borders, crude all of them, but not devoid of interest. In the main its contents are original, and show no contemptible style of diction. In view of his son's literary abilities, a further extract from his verse may be given :

' If Heaven be such a place of sweet delight,  
 Who would not labour with the utmost might ;  
 Of those sweet joys to be a blest partaker,  
 And sing the praises of his glorious maker.  
 For all his pains would well rewarded be,  
 A happy gainer from all fears set free ;  
 From fear of hell and from eternal pain,  
 And joy and everlasting pleasures gain.  
 Lord grant my Soul may evermore partake,  
 Of Heavenly joys for Jesus Christ His sake.

R. D.'

The schoolmaster's sons had early to look after



themselves. John became a farmer and maltster, like most of his ancestors, and lived in considerable prosperity at Bolsover and Stoney Houghton. He married a Derbyshire woman, succeeded on his father's death in 1750 to Robert II.'s property, which should under ordinary circumstances have come to his elder brother, and in 1777 died at Pleasley Hill. Alvory was not so successful. He is said to have lived and died—in 1765—in the service of Sir George Savile, Bart., but in what capacity does not appear. There is, however, reason to suppose that he spent part of his life in London, and became the proprietor of one of the Westminster pamphlet shops, relying, no doubt, on support from his powerful brother. He was left £400 at Robert's death, but did not long live to enjoy it. Isaac became gardener to the famous Ralph Allen of Prior Park—Fielding's Squire Allworthy—and afterwards laid out the grounds for Lord Weymouth at Longleat. He received £200 at Robert's death, and died in his eighty-first year. Robert himself was apprenticed at an early age to a stocking weaver in Mansfield, and one may suppose him intensely miserable in the most uncongenial surroundings. At that time this trade was flourishing at Mansfield, and the schoolmaster must have considered it to be a splendid opening for his eldest son. Dodsley, however, hated the work, was badly treated, and, it appears, 'deserted.'

A difficulty here confronts the biographer, for although it is certain that Dodsley did not long remain at Mansfield, the manner of his exit, as well as his

subsequent career in London, is wrapped in obscurity. Harrod in his *History of Nottingham* says that, 'being literally starved, he took French leave.' Bailey tells much the same story. 'Disliking his monotonous employment,' he relates, 'he absconded from his master, and made his way to London.' On the other hand Carter in his *Visit to Sherwood Forest*, writing, indeed, at a much later date, says: 'He was apprenticed to a stocking weaver, but feeling a dislike to that employment, he induced his master to cancel his indentures, and succeeded, after some adversities, in obtaining the situation of footman.' There is a tradition in the family that Dodsley, after leaving Mansfield, made his way to Newstead, Lord Byron's home, which was but a few miles away, and was from there taken to London by a lady who was struck by his behaviour and deportment. Here, unfortunately, there is nothing but a further obscurity. None of his letters so much as mention this period of his life. Bailey is content to observe that his first situation 'does not appear to be satisfactorily known,' but adds that 'at an early period of his settlement in London, he was footman to Mr Dartineuf.' Dodsley himself is Bailey's authority for this last statement, which first appeared in Boswell's *Johnson*. 'I said Mr Robert Dodsley's life should be written,' Boswell relates, 'as he had been so much connected with the wits of his time, and by his literary merits had raised himself from the station of a footman. . . . Johnson: "I doubt whether Dodsley's brother [James] would thank a man who should write his life; yet Dodsley was not

unwilling that his original low station should be recollected. When Lord Lyttelton's *Dialogues of the Dead* came out, one of which is between Apicius, an ancient epicure, and Dartineuf, a modern epicure, Dodsley said to me, 'I knew Dartineuf well, for I was once his footman.' '''

This man's real name was Charles Dartiquenave, once reputed to have been a natural son of Charles II., a 'born epicure,' as his friend Swift calls him, a contributor to Steele's *Tatler*, and a member of the famous Kitcat Club. He is frequently mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*. 'My friend Dartineuf,' writes Swift, 'is the greatest punner in the town next to myself . . . the man that knows everything and that everyone knows.' 'I dined with Mr Secretary St John,' he relates in another place, 'and at six went to Dartineuf's house to drink punch with him and Mr Addison.' Dodsley cannot have been in London by this time, but must have lived with Dartineuf a few years after Swift had returned to Ireland, and, as one biographer has observed: 'It was doubtless from behind the chair of this genial humourist' that he 'first beheld the pleasures of a literary life.' It is not impossible, moreover, that Dodsley saw the great Mr Pope for the first time at Dartineuf's house. The two were upon friendly terms, and Pope has immortalized him in two couplets:

' Each mortal has his pleasure : none deny  
Scarsdale his bottle, Darty his Ham-pie.'

' Hard taste to suit the palate of such guests  
When Oldfield loves what Dartineuf detests.'

He became Paymaster of the Royal Works, besides holding other official posts, and died in 1737.

Unfortunately there is nothing to fix the dates of Dodsley's entry into, or departure from, Dartineuf's service. If, as seems probable, he really absconded from Mansfield, there must have been a hue and cry raised which would have reached to London, for those were the days when apprentices were bound very strictly to their masters, and advertisements constantly occurred in the metropolitan papers, sent in from even the remotest parts of the country, which contained minute descriptions of some hapless youth who had 'deserted.' To whatever he may first have put his hand, however, Dodsley remained wretchedly poor. His father would not forgive his desertion—it does not, in fact, appear that they were ever reconciled—and the money that might have come from Mansfield did not arrive. Almost all his early poems lament his condition. In an essay on the *Miseries of Poverty*, which must have been written about 1725 and was included in his second publication, there is much that may be taken as autobiographical. 'The miseries of a thinking man,' he writes here, 'are intolerably aggravated by the quick sense he has of them; his sufferings are augmented by his own cruel reflections: every uncomfortable circumstance depresses his spirits; the contempt with which the world looks upon him in a mean and despicable habit, the rude illiterate company he is forced to associate with, and the many insults, inconveniences, and restraints which he undergoes in this despised, unpitied



state, are themes which afford him a great many melancholy reflections.' 'The unhappy wretch,' he goes on to say, 'is in such a dilemma, that let him act how or in what manner soever he will, he is still the contemptible object of scorn or derision. If he moves on in the low, narrow sphere which his poverty places him in, he is despised and thought not worth taking notice of; and if he endeavours to exert himself above it, he is immediately laugh'd at, and thought a conceited fellow.' It is curious that Dodsley should have subsequently published Johnson's poem *London*, the basic ideas of which are admirably expressed in the foregoing quotation. 'Slow rises worth by poverty depressed' is but a bombastic amplification of 'he is still the contemptible object of scorn or derision.' Yet, after all, there are very few ideas upon poverty which are not of necessity the property of the world at large.

The footman, indeed, of this time was not particularly well treated. He was given 'vails' or tips, but his wages seem to have been no more than six pounds a year, and he was often 'mercilessly caned for very trivial faults.' On the other hand, the satirist of the day seldom loses a chance to speak of the footman as 'ahead of his place.' The lot of some, indeed, must have been the reverse of unpleasant, and one cannot but suppose that however uncongenial Dodsley's service under Dartineuf must have been, the time of absolute poverty had passed. 'There's nothing we Beaus take more pride in,' writes a contemporary author, 'than a Sett of genteel footmen. I never have

any but what wear their own hair, and I allow 'em a Crown a Week for Gloves and Powder ; if one should n't they'd steal horribly to set themselves out, for now not one in ten is without a Watch, and a nice Snuff Box with the best Orangerie ; and the Liberty of the Upper Gallery, has made 'em so confounded pert, that, as they wait behind one at Table, they'll either put in their Word, or mimick a Body, and People must bear with 'em or else pay 'em their Wages.' Dodsley must certainly have visited the Upper Gallery as often as he could—his knowledge of the theatre afterwards stood him in good stead—but we cannot imagine him imitating the foppish eccentricities of his master.

Yet if the position of a lackey was unpleasant for a man of refinement, it brought with it considerable compensation. Dodsley could probably not have found a post in which opportunities for future success were so great or so frequent. A greater than his own master might take a fancy to him, and the footman thus go from strength to strength. Nor can his 'brother skips' have been such an illiterate crew as one imagines. Among them were battles of wits, skirmishes in repartee and the other accomplishments of quasi-genteel society. Besides, taste at this period was by no means squeamish, and the line of demarcation between a witty master and a witty man was scarcely so well marked as it afterwards became.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1732, a writer complains of the insolence of footmen, and his essay certainly tends to prove that the wit of the liveryman was pungent, if coarse. 'Everybody,' says the writer,

'not of the highest distinction, must be sensible of the insolences of these pampered hirelings. At St James's or by the Mall side nobody escapes their dirty jokes and saucy ridicule ; their pertness is under no restraint ; they sneer you full in the face, give their word for a roast, and by the time you are got to the last of them, the whole gang is in a laugh. Mr Birch says he never passes through them but they exhaust all their little wit in turning his person into ridicule ; has often heard himself called the skeleton of an old poet, the ghost of an old fashion, and the remaining tincture of red in his nose the dying embers of port.' The writer continues with a quotation of Mr Gay's *Trivia* :

' Let not the chairman with assuming stride  
Press near the wall and rudely thrust aside ;  
The laws have set him bounds ; his servile feet  
Should ne'er encroach where posts defend the street.  
Yet who the footman's arrogance can quell  
Whose flambeau gilds the sashes of Pell-mell,  
When in long rank a train of torches flame,  
To light the midnight visits of the dame ? '

' Their masters,' he continues, ' are likewise in fault when they chuse them for their size, hair, beauty, rather than their industry, fidelity and honesty. When we see them caress'd for what they deserv'd to be hang'd, and preferr'd for being faithful drudges to vice, how can we expect to see them other than they are the most useless, insolent, and corrupted of people in Great Britain ? ' Dodsley, one may suppose, possessed the wit complained of without the accompanying vice.

About 1728 he became footman to the Hon. Jane

Lowther, the third daughter of the first Viscount Lonsdale, and better times immediately ensued. This lady, who died unmarried in 1752, lived in Whitehall, knew many literary celebrities, and possessed a library, which, according to tradition, was placed at her footman's disposal. Probably she had found Dodsley scribbling in his pantry, and shown his callow verses to her friends. From one of his early poems, however, it would appear that Sir Griffith Boynton, Bart., of Barmston, Yorkshire, was actually the first to discern any merit in them. In a poem inscribed to this 'so nice a judge and critick' Dodsley says :

' Now fain in gratitude I'd something say,  
But humble thanks are all I have to pay ;  
Stay yet, my Muse, till more refin'd and strong,  
Then sing his praise, who first approv'd thy song.'

When and where Dodsley made the baronet's acquaintance does not appear, but the meaning of the lines cannot be mistaken. Here, moreover, it may not be impertinent to suggest from an examination of Dodsley's book *A Muse in Livery*, from which the four lines just quoted are taken, that he had served with Sir Richard Howe, Bart., of Compton, Gloucestershire and Langar Hall, Notts. One of his poems is inscribed to the Honourable Lady Howe on the death of her husband, and another is occasioned 'by a visit expected from the Right Honourable the Countess of Hartford, to the Honourable Lady Howe.' Both seem to have been written at Compton. Possibly Dodsley went from Compton to Whitehall, but no letters of this period which mention him have been

preserved. Lady Hartford was a patroness of letters—Thompson dedicated his *Spring* to her, and she may have helped him in some way or other, but nothing is known. His life, however, about this time is summed up, playfully enough, in a poem addressed by him to Mr Wright, a friend at Mansfield ; it is worth reading in its entirety :

‘ Dear friend,  
 Since I am now at leisure,  
 And in the country taking pleasure,  
 If it be worth your while to hear  
 A silly footman’s business there,  
 I’ll try to tell, in easy rhyme,  
 How I, in London spend my time.

And first,  
 As soon as laziness will let me,  
 I rise from bed, and down I set me,  
 To cleaning glasses, knives and plate,  
 And such-like dirty work as that,  
 Which (by the bye) is what I hate.  
 This done ; with expeditious care,  
 To dress myself I strait prepare ;  
 I clean my buckles, black my shoes ;  
 Powder my wig, and brush my cloaths ;  
 Take off my beard, and wash my face,  
 And then I’m ready for the chace.

Down comes my Lady’s woman strait :  
 Where ’s Robin ? Here. Pray take your hat,  
 And go—and go—and go—and go—  
 And this—and that desire to know.  
 The charge receiv’d, away run I,  
 And here, and there, and yonder fly,  
 With services, and how-d’ye-does,  
 Then home return full fraught with news.

Here some short time does interpose,  
 ’Till warm effluvias greet my nose,  
 Which from the spits and kettles fly,  
 Declaring dinner-time is nigh.



To lay the cloth I now prepare,  
With uniformity and care ;  
In order knives and forks are laid,  
With folded napkins, salt, and bread :  
The side-boards glittering too appear,  
With plate, and glass, and china-ware.  
Then ale, and beer, and wine decanted,  
And all things ready which are wanted,  
The smoaking dishes enter in,  
To stomachs sharp a grateful scene ;  
Which on the table being plac'd,  
And some few ceremonies past,  
They all sit down, and fall to eating,  
Whilst I behind stand silent waiting.

This is the only pleasant hour  
Which I have in the twenty-four ;  
For whilst I unregarded stand,  
With ready salver in my hand,  
And seem to understand no more  
Than just what 's call'd for, out to pour ;  
I hear, and mark the courtly phrases,  
And all the elegance that passes ;  
Disputes maintain'd without digression,  
With ready wit, and fine expression ;  
The laws of true politeness stated ;  
And what good breeding is, debated :  
Where all unanimously exclude  
The vain coquet, the formal prude,  
The ceremonious, and the rude.  
The flattering, fawning, praising train ;  
The fluttering, empty, noisy, vain ;  
Detraction, smut, and what 's prophane.

This happy hour elaps'd and gone,  
The time of drinking tea comes on.  
The kettle fill'd, the water boil'd,  
The cream provided, biscuits pil'd,  
And lamp prepar'd ; I strait engage  
The Lilliputian equipage  
Of dishes, saucers, spoons, and tongs,  
And all th' et cetera which thereto belongs.  
Which rang'd in order and decorum,  
I carry in, and set before 'em ;

Then pour or Green, or Bohea out,  
And so commanded, hand about.

This business over, presently  
The hour of visiting draws nigh ;  
The chairmen strait prepare the chair,  
A lighted flambeau I prepare ;  
And orders given where to go,  
We march along, and bustle thro'  
The parting crouds, who all stand off  
To give us room. O how you 'd laugh !  
To see me strut before a chair,  
And with a stirdy voice and air,  
Crying—By your leave, sir ! have a care !  
From place to place with speed we fly,  
And rat-tatat the knockers cry :  
Pray is your Lady, sir, within ?  
If no, go on ; if yes, we enter in.  
Then to the hall I guide my steps,  
Amongst a croud of brother skips,  
Drinking small-beer, and talking smut,  
And this fool's nonsense putting that fool's out.  
Whilst oaths and peels of laughter meet,  
And he who 's loudest, is the greatest wit.  
But here amongst us the chief trade is  
To rail against our lords and ladies ;  
To aggravate their smallest failings,  
T' expose their faults with saucy railings.  
For my part, as I hate the practice,  
And see in them how base and black 'tis,  
To some bye place I therefore creep,  
And sit me down, and feign to sleep ;  
And could I with old Morpheus bargain,  
Twou'd save my ears much noise and jargon.  
But down my Lady comes again,  
And I'm released from my pain.  
To some new place our steps we bend,  
The tedious evening out to spend ;  
Sometimes, perhaps, to see the play,  
Assembly, or the opera ;  
Then home and sup, and thus we end the day.'

There is an amusing reference to ' the only pleasant hour ' in the *Weekly Register* for April 15th, 1732,

wherein 'Tom Waitwell, a footman, complains that he and his brotherhood have had the honour to wait on the Quality at table; by which kind of service they became wits, beaus and politicians, adopted their masters' jokes, copied their manners, and knew all the scandal of the beau-monde; but are now supplanted by a certain stupid utensil call'd a *Dumb Waiter*, which answers all purposes as well except making remarks, and telling of tales; and 'tis for this very reason they are preferr'd, tho' it obstruct the channel of intelligence; and families will want conversation, when they want information to abuse one another.' One would like to possess Dodsley's opinion of this 'stupid utensil.' Its presence in Mistress Lowther's house might have given him a little more time for the composition of verses, even though it had robbed him of the polite conversation which he regarded as a necessary part of education. His presence, indeed, at table, must have been of considerable value to him.

It was not, however, until the latter half of 1729 that Dodsley's first poem was actually published, and it is interesting to note that thus early in his career the humble footman came into personal contact with one of the great literary figures of his day, and received from him a measure of that courtesy and consideration which from this time onward was, with a few isolated exceptions, accorded him by the 'literati.' Earlier in the year he wrote a short poem called *Servitude*, and 'ventured,' as he says, 'to show my performance to a person of my Acquaintance'—possibly the bookseller Thomas Worrall—who upon reading them





‘EFFIGIES AUTHORIS.’ FRONTISPIECE TO ‘A MUSE IN LIVERY,’ BY  
P. FOURDRINIER, 1732



(sic) over, told me he wonder'd I had not taken notice of a late Pamphlet, entitled, *Every Body's Business is No Body's Business*, done by one, who writes himself Andrew Moreton, Esq. ; I told him I had never seen it ; and upon his answering it would be worth my while, I bought the Book.' This Andrew Moreton, as Lee has shown, was none other than the celebrated Daniel Defoe. Dodsley read the pamphlet, and ' by means which cannot now be ascertained . . . obtained access to Defoe, and sought his advice and assistance.' Defoe, then sixty-eight years of age, and living in circumstances none too comfortable at Stoke Newington, apparently recognized some merit in the footman's performance, and ' not only revised the poem, but also—seeing it would not fill a sheet, he wrote a preface and introduction of some ten pages, and then kindly added, as a postscript, six pages of quiet banter on his own popular tract (*Every Body's Business*), in order to give his humble protégé the reflex benefit of such popularity. It is probable that he also assisted in the publication of the pamphlet, which appeared on 20th Sept., 1729,'<sup>1</sup>—' Printed for T. Worrall, at the Judge's Head, over against St Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street, price 6d.'

' 'Tis true,' says Dodsley in his preface, ' the subject is too low for poetry a great deal, and I hope the meanness thereof will be attributed to that cause. But I thought its being a poem, might perhaps induce some of my brethren to buy it, who otherwise would not ; and by that means the good advice, if there be

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Daniel Defoe*, Lee, 1869, vol. i. p. 449.

any contain'd in it, would be more generally communicated.' The book is described as 'Written by a Footman,' and contains sundry maxims on carefulness, neatness, obedience to superiors, and the like virtues, of all of which the intention is 'to excite Bad Servants to their Duty.' It is a very different performance from those famous *Directions to Servants* of Swift, which Dodsley himself was to publish in after years. It is ungrammatical, but not uninteresting, and if it shows little of the *finesse* of his later work, it is a not unremarkable piece for a footman to have written. His description of a butler may be given here :

' Daniel Decant an honest butler was,  
 As ever tapp'd a cask, or fill'd a glass ;  
 He never wrong'd his master of a cup,  
 And, for his own part, rarely drank a sup :  
 But Daniel, now and then, if call'd away,  
 In heedless haste runs and forgets his key.  
 This is the door the thirsty coachman spies ;  
 He tips the wink to Tom, Tom minds his eyes ;  
 Joyful down-stairs they haste, their thirst appease,  
 And three or four the largest bottles seize,  
 Which to a private hole convey'd by stealth,  
 Serve at convenient times to drink poor Daniel's health.  
 Here Daniel cheats his master by neglect,  
 As much as if he really did the fact ;  
 For so much wine, if from his cellar gone,  
 Is so much loss, which way soe'er 'tis done.  
 Let us be careful then as well as just,  
 So shall our masters safely us intrust.'

The success of the poem may be gauged both from the numerous advertisements in contemporary journals, and the fact that Worrall issued a second edition, with a new title page, in the following year. This new edition bore the more attractive title of *The Footman's Friendly Advice to his Brethren of the Livery*



. . . by *R. D. now a Footman*, and as such was still being advertised in August and September of 1730, proof of a rather wider sale than its merits may have deserved. It was, however, something of a novelty, but Dodsley's financial gain cannot have been great, and for another year or two, if not for a longer period, he remained with Mistress Lowther. Whilst with her, he wrote and printed two short 'Entertainments' or dramatic interludes, one in honour of the King's birthday, the other to celebrate the marriage of Jane Lowther's niece, Katherine Pennington, to her cousin, Governor Robert Lowther, on June 22nd, 1731.

The exact date on which these pamphlets were issued is not known, but in January or February, 1732, there appeared 'printed for the author' one of the most interesting books (from the biographical point of view) of which Dodsley was the author. This was *A Muse in Livery, or the Footman's Miscellany*, from which quotations have already been given. Perhaps the most curious point about this collection of simple verses, which fill some hundred and fifty pages, is the subscription list, which contains over two hundred names, many of them belonging to the peerage. The Lowther family, as might have been expected, took nine copies. Sir Robert Walpole took four copies; the Countess of Hartford took four; the Earl of Thomond and his wife, no less than six. The Duchesses of Bolton, Bedford and Cleveland were all subscribers. Steele's *Aspasia*, the Lady Elizabeth Hastings, and two of her sisters, likewise lent their names. Several copies, too, were despatched to Mans-

field. The schoolmaster and two of his sons, the author's friend Mr Wright, and Mr Dakyne all figured in the list. Dodsley may well have been proud, and, indeed, he seems only to have waited for the appearance of his miscellany to crave the assistance of the all-powerful Mr Pope. The book itself was so successful, that on Friday, May 26th, two booksellers, Osborn of Gray's Inn and John Nourse 'without Temple Bar,' were advertising the *Second Edition of a Muse in Livery . . . By R. Dodsley, now a Footman to a Person of Quality at Whitehall.*

'I have not the vanity,' writes the humble author in his preface, 'to think it is any merit in myself, or these poor performances, that I owe the honour of being allowed to place so many great names at the beginning of them. No, I am very sensible it is in some, who know my condition, from charity; in others, from generosity; and by many it is intended only as a compliment to the person whom I have the honour, and (as I have just cause to esteem it) the happiness to serve; since few in my station are able to find leisure for employments of this nature. However, be the cause what it will, the whole benefit is mine; and therefore the most humble and grateful acknowledgments are justly due from me.

'Now, as to such of my subscribers as shall think fit to be my readers (for that I don't expect they all will be, nor should I be surprised to know a twelve-month hence, that many of the books were still uncut), I beg them to consider the very many disadvantages the author labours under. What can be expected from

the pen of a poor footman? a character that expresses a want both of friends, fortune, and all the advantages of a liberal education, or a polite converse; one or both of which are absolutely necessary to shew even the best natural genius in a tolerable light.

‘ Yet notwithstanding all this, I can’t forbear owning I have had the pleasure to hear some of my verses approved by persons whom it would exceedingly gratify my vanity to name. But lest I offend by so doing, I will content myself with only saying, they have been such as the best poets would have been honoured by, and might justly have been proud of.

‘ But to allay the vanity which such praise might excite, I have too much cause to fear the greater part deserve no praise at all: nor dare I hope they will escape censure. But I will seek no other excuse for them than the candour and good-nature of my readers, when they recollect that the author lies under all the disadvantages of an uncultivated mind; nay, even his natural genius depressed by the sense of his low condition; a condition from which he never hopes to rise, but by the goodness of providence influencing some generous mind to support an honest and grateful heart, which will ever be found in the breast of the author.’

In writing these words, Dodsley most probably was thinking of the good fortune which had attended a poet as poorly situated as himself. This was Stephen Duck, ‘ some time,’ as we are informed, ‘ a poor Thresher in a Barn in the County of Wilts, at the Wages of Four Shillings and Six Pence per Week.’ Like

Dodsley, Duck had shown a facility for verse, which had 'been Publickly Read by the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Macclesfield, in the Drawing Room at Windsor Castle, on Friday, the 11th of September, 1730, to Her Majesty. Who was thereupon most graciously pleased to take the Author into her Royal Protection, by ordering him an Apartment at Kew . . . to live in ; and a Salary of Thirty Pounds per Annum, for his better Support and Maintenance.' It was only to be expected that Mistress Lowther's footman, conscious of equal merit, should hope for some such recognition, and, indeed, his feelings are well shown in an Epistle<sup>1</sup> which he addressed to Duck in his *Miscellany* :

' When first thy wondrous tale was told abroad,  
How did my soul the Royal act applaud ? '

' Forgive,' he continues,

' that such a muse as mine,  
Brings her weak aid to the support of thine ;  
In verse, which if the World should chance to see,  
They 'd find I pleaded for myself—in thee.'

Whether Dodsley had actually made Duck's acquaintance when this epistle was published is not known, but at a later period they were on friendly terms, and when Duck had taken orders and was writing more polished verse, it was to Dodsley that he came when they were ready for publication. But if Royal patronage was extended to the thrasher-poet, the goodwill of Mistress Lowther's friends was certainly extended to her footman. In justice to the author,

<sup>1</sup> This had also been issued separately as a sixpenny pamphlet.



however, it must be admitted that his book was at least as good as the average of contemporary verse.

He showed no little humour in his pieces, and if he worked upon more or less established models, there was a freshness about his lines which could not fail to please. The book itself is furnished with a rather surprising frontispiece by Fourdrinier, of great renown in his day, and on the title-page occur six lines which succinctly describe the author's feelings :

‘ You laugh, and think ’twill be a jest,  
To see a muse in Livery dress’d :  
But when I mount behind the coach,  
And bear aloft a flaming torch ;  
Methinks on Pegasus I fly,  
With fire poetick blazing thro’ the sky.’

Dr Johnson may have had these lines in his mind when he wrote : ‘ The last century imagined that a man composing in his chariot was a new object of curiosity ; but how much would the wonder have been increased by a footman studying behind it ? ’

The verdict of the time seems to have been that the volume would repay reading, but it does not appear that Dodsley's fortune had materially increased from its sale ; nor, indeed, is it known when he left Mistress Lowther's service. One may, nevertheless, suppose that his circumstances were not now so excessively meagre, from the fact that at the time of the publication of his *Muse in Livery* he was married by licence, (Feb. 14th, 1731-2), at St James', Westminster, to Catherine Iserloo, of St Mary-le-bone, ‘ aged twenty-one and upwards.’ Of his wife there are few particulars. He seems to have been devoted to her until

her death, on Dec. 12th, 1754, and she is repeatedly mentioned in his *Muse*. In his *Wish* he sings of her :

' A wife, young, virtuous, fair, and kind,  
If such a one there be ;  
Yes, one there is 'mongst Womankind ;  
O Kitty ! thou art she.  
With her, ye gods, with her but make me blest,  
Of all your blessings—that would be the best.'

It would seem as though he had been waiting until the publication of his poems to marry. For Kitty nothing was too good, and the title that the poor footman would give most to possess, as he himself tells us, was that of ' her most fav'rite slave,' adding that

' To bow to her a greater bliss would be  
Than kings and princes bowing down to me.'

His adored Kitty, too, inspired his *Pastoral*, wherein he laments the difficulties he finds in seeing her. Mistress Lowther would probably take her footman into various parts of the country, and so we have the following stanza :

' Tho' distance divides us, thy beauties I see,  
Those beauties so lov'd and admir'd by me !  
Now, now I behold thee, sweet smiling, and pretty,  
O gods ! you've made nothing so fair as my Kitty !'

It has been mentioned that on the appearance of his poems, Dodsley sought the assistance of Mr Pope. His application was accompanied by a short play in prose, called *The Toy-shop*, and brought him a gracious reply :

' Feb. 5, 1732-3.

' SIR,

' I was very willing to read your piece, and do

freely tell you, I like it, as far as my particular judgment goes. Whether it has action enough to please on the stage, I doubt : but the morality and satire ought to be relished by the reader. I will do more than you ask me ; I will recommend it to Mr Rich. If he can join it to any play, with suitable representations, to make it an entertainment, I believe he will give you a benefit night ; and I sincerely wish it may be turned any way to your advantage, or that I could shew you my friendship in any instance.

‘ I am, &c.,

‘ A. POPE.’

Three years had passed before this play was actually produced, but Pope’s interest was of enormous importance. Whether a married footman, moreover, was permitted by the Quality at this time is doubtful, and it may be that Dodsley, the proud possessor of a letter from Mr Pope, left service, and sought another occupation. Pope may have introduced him to some bookseller—Lawton Gilliver or Thomas Cooper—who agreed to take the footman-poet as assistant. Nothing, however, is known of him at this time, save that he was the author of at least two poems, issued anonymously by Gilliver, Pope’s own publisher, besides an *Epistle to Mr Pope*, which bears his name. The earlier of the two anonymous poems, whose authorship is clearly proved by Gilliver’s advertisements, appeared in 1734, and is entitled *The Modern Reasoners*, a satirical copy of verses, after the manner of his patron, wherein the author shows not a little knowledge of human life. ‘ Whence comes it,’ he asks,

‘ that each pretending fool,

In reason’s spite, in spite of ridicule,  
 Blindly his own wild whims for truth maintains,  
 And all the blind deluded world disdains ;  
 Himself the only person blest with sight,  
 And his opinion the great rule of right.  
 ’Tis strange, from folly this conceit shou’d rise,  
 That want of sense should make us think we ’re wise :  
 Yet so it is. The most egregious elf  
 Thinks none so wise or witty as himself.’

The second poem, of rather slighter merit, is called *Beauty, or the Art of Charming*, a slim folio, like its predecessor, issued in January 1734-5. The *Epistle to Mr Pope, Occasion’d by his Essay on Man*, is dated 1734, and may have appeared about October of that year, when Pope had acknowledged himself to be the author of the *Essay*. The poem shows more maturity than Dodsley’s previous attempts, and he was not ashamed to include it in his collected works. He seems to have been aware that the *Essay on Man* had not been accorded a universal welcome, and contemptuously refers to ‘ that band of solemn fools who read, and read, and never understand.’

In the meantime Mr Pope had not forgotten the footman, although Dodsley had to endure suspense for some time. This was probably owing to the changes that were taking place at the time in the theatrical world. John Rich, who was the most celebrated Harlequin of his day, had removed his theatre from Lincoln’s Inn Fields to the new building in Covent Garden. That this was a most important step is shown by the fact that Hogarth produced a picture of Mr Rich’s ‘ Triumphant Entry ’ into his

new playhouse. On Dec. 6th, 1732, the theatre opened with a revival of Congreve's *Way of the World*. The second piece played there was a revival of the *Beggar's Opera* which is said to have run for twenty nights, and the production of other pieces, with the inclusion of an opera season conducted by Handel in the summer of 1734, necessarily delayed the appearance of a play like the *Toy-shop*, which could not fill the programme by itself.

Although Mr Pope criticises Rich in the *Dunciad*, his relations with him cannot have been very unfriendly :

‘ Immortal Rich ! How calm he sits at ease  
 ‘ Mid snows of paper and fierce hail of pease,  
 And, proud his mistress’ orders to perform,  
 Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.’

These lines may be regarded as the price of friendship with a man of satirical humour, for they in no way prevented Rich from producing Dodsley’s play on Feb. 3rd, 1735. There is an interesting letter of Dodsley’s written about this time, to a friend in the country (not improbably Mr Wright of Mansfield), from which we learn the history of its production.

‘ The opinion which you say has prevailed with some,’ he writes, ‘ that this piece is not my own, but from a better hand, gives me too much pleasure to be angry, and would do me too much honour to contradict, did it not shew their want of judgment who entertain it. I should be very glad if I could persuade myself there were just grounds in the merit of the thing to countenance such an opinion ; but since it



has been so favourably received, that I am now to print an eighth edition of it, I find I have pride enough to vindicate to myself any credit I may receive from it.

‘ You may remember, long before I had the honour of being known to Mr Pope, the regard I had for him ; and it was a great mortification to me, that I used to think myself too inconsiderable ever to merit his notice or esteem. However, some time after, I wrote the *Toy-shop*, hoping there was something in it which might recommend me to him in a moral capacity, at least, tho’ not in a poetical one, I sent it to him, and desir’d his opinion of it ; expressing some doubt that, tho’ I design’d it for the stage, yet unless its novelty would recommend it, I was afraid it would not bear a publick representation, and therefore had not offered it to the actors.

‘ Mr Pope,’ he continues, after giving the poet’s reply, ‘ was as good as his word ; he recommended it to Mr Rich ; by his interest it was brought upon the stage ; and by the indulgence of the town, it was very favourably received.

‘ This is the history of the *Toy-shop* ; and I shall always think myself happy in having wrote it, since it first procured me the favour and acquaintance of Mr Pope.’

Dodsley’s play, indeed, scored an immediate success. Like his *Servitude*, it was something novel, but perhaps owed more to the opportuneness of its appearance than to originality of idea. Dramatic satire was at that time something of a rarity, and the stage had not as yet produced many moralists of this

kind. The ideas in the little play are commonplace enough, but they are well brought out. The last speech of the Master of the Toy-shop, played on its first representation by Chapman, will sufficiently indicate its merits and defects :

‘ I can sit behind this counter,’ he says, ‘ and fancy my little shop, and the transactions of it, an agreeable representation of the grand theater of the world. When I see a fool come in here, and throw away 50 or 100 guineas for a trifle that is not really worth a shilling, I am sometimes surpriz’d : But when I look out into the world, and see Lordships and Manors barter’d away for gilt coaches and equipage ; an estate for a title ; and an easy freedom in retirement for a servile attendance in a crowd ; when I see health with great eagerness exchang’d for diseases, and happiness for a game of hazard ; my wonder ceases. Surely the world is a great toyshop, and all its inhabitants run mad for rattles. Nay, even the very wisest of us, however we may flatter ourselves, have some failing or weakness, some toy or trifle, that we are ridiculously fond of. Yet, so very partial are we to our own dear selves, that we overlook those mis-carriages in our own conduct, which we loudly exclaim against in that of others ; and, tho’ the same fool’s turban fits us all,

‘ You say that I, I say that You are he,  
And each man swears, “ The cap’s not made for me.” ’

The piece, in fact, has no plot, and merely consists of a series of dialogues between the master of the shop,

given to moralizing, and his various customers. But it undoubtedly echoed the feeling of the educated world, and for this reason, if for no other, deserved the applause that it gained. It was not even original, the idea being taken in effect from the *Conceited Pedlar* of Thomas Randolph (1650), from whence, says Dodsley, in his introduction to the same author's *Muse's Looking Glass* ('which,' he relates, 'has always been esteemed an excellent commonplace book for dramattick authors, to instruct them in the art of drawing characters'), 'I took the first hint of the *Toy-shop*.' If read to-day, moreover, the *Toy-shop* would appear just as modern as it did to the play-goers of 1735. Its satire is pungent, but never ill-natured, and the Quality, no doubt, liked to hear its own foibles expressed wittily upon the stage. As the rather amusing epilogue runs :

'The whim, perhaps, may please, if not the wit,  
And, tho' they don't approve, they may permit.'

The 'whim' undoubtedly pleased, even though

'Good sense and honest satire now offend ;  
We're grown too wise to learn, too proud to mend.'

'The *Toy-shop*,' writes a contemporary critic, '(since properly named a *Dramattick Satire*), without any theatrical merit, received the loudest applauses only on account of its general and well-adapted satire, on the follies of mankind ; yet is this piece defective in several particulars. The master of the toyshop, selling a shell for two guineas, which he bought for a half-penny ; and a gold watch for 36



guineas, pledged with him for 18, are pretty strokes of satire against the foolish and extravagant delinquents, but shew a man acting very inconsistently, who is represented to be a strict moralist.' But, he adds, 'the author of the *Toy-shop* has adapted both his satire, and manner of bestowing it, with so much judgment to the taste of the present times, that his piece has all the grace of novelty, tho' that, from which he possibly took his hint, is near 100 years old.'

The success of the *Toy-shop* was even greater off the stage than on. A first edition was published as a shilling pamphlet by Gilliver on Feb. 6th, a second on Feb. 21st, whilst a fourth was required at the beginning of April, and a sixth in the autumn. The eighth edition was printed for Dodsley himself, and an eleventh was put to press a year or two later. It was, moreover, pirated by unscrupulous booksellers, and in every way served to bring its author before the public. It was frequently revived, not only at Covent Garden, but also at Drury Lane, where it was played for the first time on April 8th, 1741, with Chapman in his old part. It was translated more than once into French, and included in almost every collection of farces issued in this country. More important, however, it brought Dodsley the money he needed so badly; and with that, his own small savings, and a present from Mr Pope, he was enabled to start upon the career which must of all others most have appealed to him.

## CHAPTER II

AT TULLY'S HEAD, 1735-1739

**T**HE *Daily Courant* for Friday, April 25th, 1735, contained the following advertisement :

‘ This day is published, with Copper Plates designed by Mr Kent, the Works of Alexander Pope, Esq.: Vol. II. . . . Printed for Lawton Gilliver, at Homer’s Head, Fleet Street, J. Brindley in New Bond Street, and R. Dodsley, Author of the *Toy-shop*, at Tully’s Head in Pallmall.’

Pall Mall at this time was certainly one of the more important streets in London, owing perhaps to the variety of its traffic. In addition to its containing several of the better-known coffee houses, then the resorts *par excellence* of the literati, it seems to have afforded exceptional opportunities for many side-shows. In 1701 ‘were shown three models of William III.’s palaces at Loo and Hunstaerdike, brought over by outlandish men, with curiosities disposed of on public raffling days.’ It was also used as a running track. In 1733 ‘a holland smock, a cap, checked stockings and laced shoes,’ as Timbs records, were run for by four women in the afternoon in Pall Mall ; and one of its residents, the High Constable of

Westminster, gave a prize of a laced hat to be run for by five men, an event which created so much riot and mischief that the magistrates—perhaps fortunately from Mr Dodsley's point of view—'issued precepts to prevent future runs to the very man most active in promoting them.' Despite the fact, too, that Pall Mall must have been at this time little more than a rough and narrow roadway running between Carlton House, long since demolished, and St James's Palace, it would seem that it was even then, owing, no doubt, to its proximity to St James's Park, largely patronized by the Quality. In Mr Gay's *Trivia* an interesting picture of its appearance just before Dodsley's arrival is given :

' O bear me to the paths of fair Pell-mell,  
Safe are thy pavements, grateful is thy smell !  
At distance rolls along the gilded coach,  
Nor sturdy carmen on thy walks encroach ;  
No lets would bar thy ways were chairs deny'd  
The soft supports of laziness and pride ;  
Shops breathe perfumes, thro' sashes ribbons glow  
The mutual arms of ladies, and the beau.  
Yet still ev'n here, when rains the passage hide,  
Oft the loose stone spirts up a muddy tide  
Beneath thy careless foot ; and from on high,  
Where masons mount the ladder, fragments fly ;  
Mortar, and crumbled lime in show'rs descend,  
And o'er thy head destructive tiles impend.'

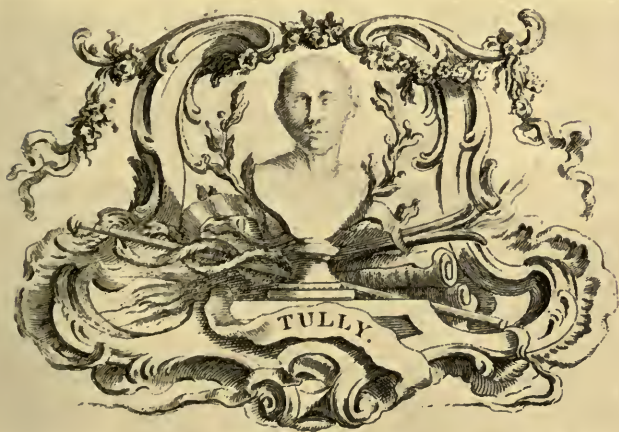
It was only fitting that the first book in the publication of which the erstwhile footman, but now acted playwright, bore a share, should have been one of Mr Pope's own works. The great poet's fortune, writes Dr Johnson, 'did not suffer his charity to be splendid and conspicuous ; but he assisted Dodsley, with an

hundred pound, that he might open a shop,' and Dodsley chose a small house in, or off, Pall Mall. The position of his first shop cannot now be determined, as his name does not appear in the rate books until 1738, but it may have been one of the smaller houses which formed a *cul-de-sac* running up through an archway in the direction of King Street, and almost directly opposite to Marlborough House. The house, which stood at the end of this passage, seems to have been larger than the rest, and was at this time occupied by Sir William Yonge, Bart., the then Secretary for War, who, however, left it early in 1738. For two quarters it remained empty. Then Dodsley, who was fortunate enough to secure it at a rental of £80—Sir William Yonge had paid £100—moved into the larger premises, and remained there until 1759. Here, at the sign of *Tully's Head*,<sup>1</sup> which, one supposes, hung from the front of the arch in Pall Mall, the publishing business of the Dodsleys flourished until the end of the century. A better position could hardly have been chosen. The old Smyrna Coffee House was within a few yards, and although there were at least two pamphlet shops in Pall Mall itself, no bookseller of repute was in the near vicinity. Brindley, who shared in the expense of publishing the second volume of Mr Pope's works, was nearest in New Bond Street; Gilliver was in Fleet Street; Edmund Curll, 'of disreputable memory,' in Rose Street, Covent Garden; Andrew Millar in the Strand; Osborne, of Harleian

<sup>1</sup> An engraving of which by Gravelot may be found in many of the books which Dodsley published.



ROBERT DODSLEY'S CLOCK, NOW THE PROPERTY OF  
MRS. DODSLEY, THE HALL FARM, STONEY HOUGHTON



*J. G. Smith delin.*

*E. Mosley sculp.*

DODSLEY'S TRADE MARK





catalogue fame, in Gray's Inn; and Thomas Cooper at the Globe in Paternoster Row.

And so, two months after the production of his play, we may suppose Dodsley moving with his wife into a small house in the neighbourhood of Pall Mall, there to receive such stock of books as his savings allowed, and to start his new career by publishing, with Gilliver and the Knaptons, a volume of his patron's work. It is interesting to note how he is mentioned in the advertisement quoted above. People must have visited the little shop from the purest curiosity. Here was the footman who had written a successful play that was already in its fourth edition, 'to be spoke with' at any reasonable hour! Charles Knight gives a pen-picture of him, and wonders whether, 'when some of his old parti-coloured brethren lounged about the street,' they did not 'peep curiously into his shop, to see how he looked behind his counter in plain broadcloth, an unpowdered wig, and lace ruffles, and with what an independent, yet modest air, he answered the questions of some fashionable customer, who treated him not as a lackey but as a gentleman.'<sup>1</sup> Few, however, could have imagined, even in 1738, when they were shown into the parlour which, one imagines, must have existed at the back of Sir William Yonge's old house, that it was destined to become almost as famous a meeting-place as old Jacob Tonson's Kitcat Club had been during the previous generation.

Pope, writing to the elder Duncombe on May 8th,

<sup>1</sup> *Shadows of the Old Booksellers*. In the *New Universal Library*, p. 170.

1735, mentions the new bookseller and his own volume. 'I beg you,' he writes, 'to accept of the new volume of my things, just printed, which will be delivered you by Mr Dodsley, the author of the *Toy-Shop*, who has just set up as a bookseller; and I doubt not, as he has more sense, so will have more honesty, than most of [that] profession.' Pope, as Nichols points out, had by this time 'conceived a very ill impression of his quondam bookseller,' Bernard Lintot, and was very ready to patronize in every possible way a man who showed superior learning. Most of the booksellers at this time were not very highly educated men. The older firms, moreover, were losing their most celebrated members, and their business, when carried on by sons or nephews, lost prestige. The younger Jacob Tonson died on Nov. 25th of this year, and his famous uncle—the first, as Dodsley was the second, of the 'learned booksellers' in England—died on April 2nd, 1736. The latter's great-nephew, the third Jacob, carried on the business in Catherine Street, Strand, but the magic of the name he bore was gone. Bernard Lintot, moreover, died on Feb. 3rd, 1735-6, and was succeeded by his son Henry, who showed rather more eagerness to maintain his new position of High Sheriff of Sussex than to attend to his trade. James Knapton, too, died in 1736. The moment, indeed, was an opportune one for Dodsley, and he seems to have made the most of it.

It was not until the first month of 1736 (N.S.) that he published a new pamphlet, solely on his own responsi-



bility.<sup>1</sup> This was an *Ode to the Memory of the late Duke of Buckingham*, by John Lockman, a poet of some small reputation in his day. It was the first of many hundreds of poems issued from the *Tully's Head*. Lockman's *Ode* was followed in March by a reprint of Lord Buckhurst's *Antient Tragedy of Gorboduc*, one of the earliest of English plays, an interesting publication in view of the widely popular *Old Plays* which Dodsley himself edited some seven years later. Mr Pope had lent his own copy of the play to Dodsley, and no doubt suggested the reprint, and his friend, the Rev. Joseph Spence, of whom more will appear in a little, wrote for it an account of the author. Another book shows Dodsley's own lyrical taste. This was a collection of 'the most beautiful love songs,' which, rather unfortunately, were 'reported . . . of too luscious a nature for the female ear,' though they were sufficiently popular to cause another publisher to print an almost identical collection in the same year.

The publication of Richard Glover's *Leonidas*, an epic of Miltonian proportions, in April 1737, may be said to mark a point in Dodsley's career. Glover (1712-1785) afterwards became a Member of Parliament, and at this time was a successful merchant who wrote poetry in his spare time. He took his epic to Dodsley, who agreed to bear the expenses of its publication, and was well rewarded for his enterprise. *Leonidas* startled the town, and 'was preferred by some critics of the day to *Paradise Lost*, passed

<sup>1</sup> A second edition of the elder Duncombe's tragedy *Junius Brutus* had been printed for him in the autumn of 1735.

through several editions and was praised by Fielding and Lord Chatham.’<sup>1</sup> The poem, indeed, was the literary event of the year. Every one spoke of it, every one wrote of it. ‘Pray who is this Glover,’ asks Swift, writing from Dublin in July of this year, ‘who writ an epic poem called *Leonidas*, which is reprinting here, and hath great vogue?’ ‘Few poems,’ relates Dr Joseph Warton, afterwards one of Dodsley’s closest friends, ‘on their first appearance, have been received with greater applause than *Leonidas*. Lord Lyttelton, in a paper called *Common Sense*, gave it a very high encomium. Dr Pemberton wrote a long and critical examination of its merits [published by Dodsley], equalling it to Homer and Milton. Nothing else was read of or talked of at Leicester House.’ Now Leicester House, the Prince of Wales’s residence, was at this time the headquarters of the Opposition, but it was also the meeting-place for a clique of the best writers of the day. Chief among these, perhaps, was George, afterwards the ‘good’ Lord Lyttelton. Still a young man, he had already published whilst at Christ Church a poem on the battle of Blenheim. Since 1730 he had been in the House of Commons, as Member for Oakhampton, and in spite of his father’s post at the Admiralty, had had no hesitation in joining the Opposition, and was now in frequent attendance on His Royal Highness, whose secretary he became. There is no doubt that Mr Pope, who was on intimate terms with him, introduced him to Dodsley, whose career he afterwards followed with keen

<sup>1</sup> *The Age of Pope*, Dennis, 1896, p. 244.

interest. Another most important member of this group was the celebrated Lord Chesterfield, whose opposition to Walpole's Excise Bill had temporarily deprived him of the King's favour. At a later date he played patron on more than one occasion to Dodsley, and might often have been seen lounging at the *Tully's Head*. With these two men as patrons, Dodsley had good cause to congratulate himself, and when the appearance of *Leonidas* definitely placed him amongst the most important publishers of the day, he must have become known to a large number of people.

Of more lasting importance, however, than the patronage of the Leicester House faction<sup>1</sup> was the friendship of Joseph Spence. Of all Dodsley's many friends, this gentle clergyman seems to have been the most loyal and the most devoted. But four years older than the publisher, he could already boast of a distinguished career. He had been educated at Eton, Winchester, and New College, where he was chosen Fellow in 1722. Four years later he had come into prominence by publishing an extremely able criticism of Pope's *Odyssey*, a book which brought him the poet's warmest thanks and friendship. Two years later his University gave him the rectory of Birchanger in Essex, and appointed him Professor of Poetry, in which capacity he immediately showed himself to be actively interested in any struggling poet who came

<sup>1</sup> It must not, however, be imagined that Dodsley looked only to the Opposition for his customers. Sir Robert Walpole himself accorded his patronage from the moment Dodsley opened his shop, and several of the publisher's bills are preserved in the Duke of Portland's collection.

his way. James Thompson and Stephen Duck both owed much to him, and it was only to be expected that Dodsley, recommended to him by Mr Pope, should come in for a measure of his appreciation. As we have seen, he edited for Dodsley the reprint of *Gorboduc* in 1735, and from that time seems to have shown a very real interest in almost every one of Dodsley's undertakings. 'His life,' says one of his biographers, 'was in its way an ideal one. He possessed sufficient culture to enjoy supreme literary art in others, while he could contemplate their triumphs without envy. He was fortunate in his friends, for the best and noblest in the land loved him. He never suffered, like Gay, from scarcity of money; nor, on the other hand, was he ever inconvenienced with too much.' At the time of Dodsley's *Muse in Livery* he had been out of England, bear-leading Lord Middlesex, afterwards Duke of Dorset, but had returned in 1733. Now, just after the publication of *Leonidas*, he took a second tour abroad, but was back in England in 1738, in time to help Dodsley in the troublesome matter of the next year. Edmund Curll seems to have resented the various kindnesses shown by him to the whilom footman, and did not hesitate to speak his mind. In an epistle to Pope, which he issued about this time, occurs the following 'snarling quatrain':

' 'Tis kind, indeed, a Livery Muse to aid,  
Who scribbles farces to augment his trade.  
When you, and Spence, and Glover drive the nail,  
The devil's in it, if the plot should fail.'

Dodsley, however, could afford to ignore such attacks.

Mr Pope, indeed, had allowed him to be sole publisher of one of his epistles. His honesty was never questioned, his literary judgment was of a high order, and his business increased with surprising, but not undeserved rapidity. In June 1737 he published the unfortunate Richard Savage's *Public Spirit*, and at the beginning of the next year the first book of Tasso's *Jerusalem*, translated by Henry Brooke—now chiefly remembered for his *Fool of Quality*—was likewise issued from the *Tully's Head*. Of greater interest, however, is the fact that in 1738 Dodsley published the first poem of the then obscure Samuel Johnson.

At the beginning of the year Edward Cave, the founder of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, had received from Johnson, who had but lately arrived in town, the manuscript of his *London*, and had suggested Dodsley as a possible publisher. Boswell records the subsequent proceedings. Johnson, who had not then confessed himself the author, wrote to Cave for his poem, and asked for a letter to Dodsley, to whom he proposed to read his poem 'that we may have his consent to put his name in the title-page.' The actual printing, it would seem, was in any case to be given to Cave. 'As to the printing,' writes Johnson, 'I will be so much the author's friend, as not to content myself with mere solicitations in his favour. I propose, if my calculations be near the truth, to engage for the reimbursement of all that you shall lose by an impression of 500.' Cave did not reply soon enough to satisfy the impatient author, and Johnson therefore wrote again: 'I waited on you to-day, to take the copy to



Dodsley's ; as I remember the number of lines which it contains, it will be no longer than *Eugenio* '—one of Dodsley's own publications of 1737, whose author, a Denbighshire wine-merchant, by name Thomas Beech, had committed suicide a fortnight after its appearance—'it will make . . . very conveniently five sheets. . . . If it be not gone therefore to Dodsley's, I beg it may be sent me.' Cave, however, who may have known that Dodsley would give him the order for printing, had sent the manuscript to the *Tully's Head*, and thither Johnson directed his steps one day in March or April.

'I was with Mr Dodsley to-day,' he writes to Cave on returning to his lodgings in Castle Street, 'who declares very warmly in favour of the paper you sent him, which he desires to have a share in, it being, as he says, *a creditable thing to be concerned in*. I knew not what answer to make till I had consulted you, nor what to demand on the author's part, but am very willing that, if you please, he should have a part in it, as he will undoubtedly be more diligent to dispose and promote it. If you can send me word to-morrow what I shall say to him, I will settle matters, and bring the poem with me for the press, which, as the town empties, we cannot be too quick with.'

'It has generally been said,' continues Boswell, 'I know not with what truth, that Johnson offered his *London* to several booksellers, none of whom would purchase it . . . but . . . the worthy Mr Robert Dodsley had taste enough to perceive its uncommon merit, and thought it creditable to have a share in it.

The fact is, that at a future conference,—at which one may suppose the two men beginning a friendship that was to last until Dodsley's death—' he bargained for the whole property of it, for which he gave Johnson ten guineas ; who told me, " I might perhaps have accepted less ; but that Paul Whitehead had a little before got ten guineas for a poem ; and I would not take less than Paul Whitehead." ' Of this Whitehead, who must not be confounded with William Whitehead, afterwards poet-laureate, more will appear in a little. In the meantime the poem was put to press, and appeared anonymously, ' Printed for R. Doddsley,' in May, on the same morning, we are told, as the first Dialogue of Pope's satire, *Seventeen Hundred and Thirty-eight*. Its success was instantaneous, although curiously enough, it does not appear at first to have been advertised in the newspapers. A second edition was called for in a week, and a third in July. George Lyttelton carried it to Mr Pope, who prophesied the author's future fame in a much-quoted sentence : ' He will soon be *deterré*.' In after years Dodsley may have been proud to think that he had been the first to introduce Johnson to the world of London readers.

About this time he was forced to take measures to secure himself against the piracies which were then so prevalent. Mr Pope, it seems, had assigned to him the copyright of one volume of his letters—those letters about the publication of which so much mysterious intriguing took place—and Dodsley took the precaution to enter at Stationers' Hall ' *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq.* ; vols. V. & VI. The second



edition corrected, 8vo.' He had, however, omitted to enter another edition, in folio, issued a short time before, and a printer, by name James Watson, promptly put forth a pirated edition. Mr Pope thereupon gave instructions to his legal adviser, Nathaniel Cole of Basinghall Street, to prepare the draft of a Bill against Watson. In a letter written for him—he was suffering from 'a fit of the headache' at the time—from Lord Cornbury's house 'by Oxford Chappel,' on Nov. 18th, 1737, Cole was told to wait as soon as possible upon Mr Murray (afterwards Lord Mansfield) with this Bill. A petition was duly filed in Dodsley's name in Chancery for the invasion of his copyright, but, very curiously, it seems only to have mentioned the folio edition. Watson seized on this omission as a loophole for escape, and, in a letter dated Nov. 30th, he wrote objecting that the folio mentioned in the petition 'was not the book he had pirated,' and that 'the octavo volumes were only entered at Stationers' Hall on Oct. 31st . . . at least a full month after the publication complained of,' when, indeed, the first and authorized edition had been sold out. The matter, which is rather confusing, was more or less amicably settled out of Court. From a document, dated April 26th, 1738, it appears that Watson became 'firmly bound unto Alexander Pope of Twickenham . . . in the Sum of One Hundred Pounds of Good and Lawfull Money . . . to be paid to the said Alexander Pope.' He furthermore agreed to deliver to Dodsley 'the whole Impression of Books so by him Printed . . . & which are computed to amount unto Sixteen

# LETTERS

O F

Mr. *ALEXANDER POPE*,

And Several of his FRIENDS.



L O N D O N :

Printed by J. WRIGHT for J. KNAPTON in *Ludgatestreet*,  
L. GILLIVER in *Fleetstreet*, J. BRINDLEY in *New Bond*  
*street*, and R. DODSLEY in *Pall-mall*, MDCGXXXVII.

TITLE-PAGE (WITH HEAD OF POPE) FROM ONE OF THE 'AUTHENTIC'  
VOLUMES OF THE POET'S LETTERS, 1737



Hundred and Forty-Six Books or thereabouts,' and promised not to print any other of Pope's works. Dodsley, on his side, agreed to give Watson £25, and undertook to proceed no further in the matter. This was not the only occasion upon which he suffered from piracy, but from this time he was careful to take all possible precautions to protect himself.

This affair over, Dodsley proceeded to publish the second of the two *Dialogues* which now form the Epilogue to Pope's *Satires*, and, as we have seen, moved into larger premises about the same time. He had not, however, been long settled in his new house before he was compelled temporarily to reside in far less comfortable quarters, for, in Feb. 1739, he was taken into custody for the publication of a 'wicked, malicious, and infamous libel.'

Some months before, Dodsley had told Johnson of his purchase of a poem by Paul Whitehead. This poem seems to have lain unprinted for some time at the *Tully's Head*, and it would appear as though Dodsley had doubted the wisdom of publishing it. It was called *Manners*, and was extremely outspoken. Two of the lines in particular were calculated to arouse offence :

' Safe may Pope dash the statesman in each line,  
Those dread his satire, who dare punish mine.' <sup>1</sup>

Pope's second *Dialogue* had been published, and nothing had happened, but Whitehead's poem was

<sup>1</sup> Dr Warton, however, supposed that the most offensive line was—

' And Sherlock's shop and Henley's are the same '—

for which statement the Bishop of Salisbury brought the matter before the House.

in the nature of a challenge, which most probably would not be ignored. At length, however, Dodsley decided to pave the way for the appearance of a projected third *Dialogue*, which, however, never took place during his lifetime, by issuing *Manners*, which was accordingly published on Feb 3rd. Trouble immediately ensued. A question of privilege was at once raised in the House of Lords, the poem was voted 'scandalous,' and author and publisher were summoned to the Bar. Whitehead, who at this time 'hung loose upon society' and was a follower of Bubb Dodington, absconded, but Dodsley appeared at Westminster to face the charge.

'The order being given,' runs the *Journal of the House of Lords* for Feb. 12th, 1739, 'for the attendance of Mr Whitehead and R. Dodsley, the supposed author and publisher of a printed poem, intituled *Manners, a Satire*, the said Dodsley was called in, and the said pamphlet being shewed to him, he owned "He was the publisher thereof, and acquainted the House, That he had the copy of Mr Paul Whitehead, who was to have the money the books were sold for, paying for paper and print ;<sup>1</sup> and, as it was a Satire, thinking it might give offence, did not care to print it, without Mr Whitehead's name to it, which was in the title when he gave it to him to print." ' After being directed to withdraw, Whitehead was called for, 'but not attending, Mr Foot, one of the doorkeepers, was called

<sup>1</sup> It would appear that some new arrangement had been arrived at between author and publisher, if the poem really mentioned by Johnson was *Manners*.

in, and, being sworn, was examined as to the service of the order for the said Whitehead's attendance : and acquainted the House, that on Friday evening last, he went to Mr Whitehead's house, to serve him with the said order : who not being then at home, he went again the next morning ; and being told by his servant he was not stirring, he left the order, and went some time after, when the servant told him her master had seen the order, and said, he would attend the House accordingly.' Whereupon Whitehead was ordered to be taken into custody by the Gentleman of the Black Rod for his contempt. The pamphlet was then read to the House, Dodsley, one supposes, meantime in anxious conversation with some of the Opposition in the lobby, and voted a wicked reflection 'on several Lords of this House.' As the result, Dodsley was ordered to be kept in custody by the Gentleman Usher, 'and there kept till further order of this House.' To this rather vague order objection was taken, but to no purpose, and the unfortunate publisher was hurried off to prison, whilst the unsold copies of his pamphlet were given to the Clerk of the House.

It was now that Dodsley's friends at Leicester House were able to be of the greatest assistance to him. On such a question as this, even those who did not know Dodsley personally, must have been very willing to make a bid for popular support. The Lords' action was construed into a malicious attack upon liberty, and Dodsley became a martyr. Lyttelton and Chesterfield both offered to bail him out of the wretched spunging house in Butcher Row, which was the only



accommodation at the Gentleman Usher's disposal. On the day after his incarceration numerous carriages blocked the neighbouring streets, whilst their owners endeavoured to be of service. Amongst others came Lord Marchmont, Lord Granville 'the polite', Lord Bathurst, Lord Essex, himself one of the 'injured' peers, Pulteney, and, one supposes, Bubb Dodington himself. Mr Pope and Mr Spence must have actively busied themselves on his behalf, but his release was brought about chiefly through the instrumentality of Dodsley's friend and neighbour Benjamin Victor, afterwards manager of the Theatre Royal in Dublin, and author of a *History of the London and Dublin Theatres*. Dodsley had been advised to write a petition for his release, and Mr Victor took it to Lord Essex, who duly presented it to the House of Lords on Feb. 19th.

'Upon reading the petition of Robert Dodsley,' runs the official *Journal*, 'in custody . . . expressing his sorrow for his said offence, begging pardon for the same, and assuring the House "That he will never offend their lordships again in the like kind," humbly representing "That his confinement from his Business will be a great Detriment, if not the total Ruin of himself, his Wife, and Family": It is ordered that the petitioner be brought to the Bar of this House to-morrow in order to his discharge.' And so on the following day we have the final entry in the *Journal*: 'Robert Dodsley . . . was (according to order) brought to the Bar, where he, upon his knees, receiving a reprimand from the Lord Chancellor for his offence,

was ordered to be discharged out of custody, paying his fees.'

Victor gives an interesting account of the affair in a letter to his friend, Sir William Wolseley. 'I have been in this low-spirited humour,' he writes, 'ever since the proceedings of the Lords, on Monday last, on the author of a satire call'd Manners, at which I was present. I presume, upon reading it, you made the same observations that I did to Whitehead himself, viz.: That he was a bold, sprightly young fellow, and very probably would not be long-lived. But, alas! the vengeance he has pulled down upon his head, was unexpected, and fatal; it is a melancholy truth, that satire, noble, useful satire is no more! because a rash young man has taken two or three, perhaps, indecent liberties, which should have been punished with a cudgel, the most august assembly in the world, must debate, divide, and put forth the iron hand of power to crush him, by way of example! but his friends, last night, prevailed with him to avoid the blow, by absconding; and the displeasure of the house has fallen on my neighbour Dodsley, who, as a publisher, was committed to the custody of the Black Rod, where he remained a week; at the end of which I waited on the Earl of Essex, to request his lordship to present Dodsley's petition to the house—This, you will say, was bold in me, as the Earl was one of the Lords severely treated in the satire; but as I knew his lordship's good nature, and had some opinion of his understanding, I made use of his ill-treatment, as my argument to induce him to present the petition—and

observed, that as it could not be presented by a complimented Lord, it would come from his lordship's hand with a good grace, and do him credit. The Earl was pleased to take my advice, and presented the petition to the Lords on the Monday, whereupon Mr Dodsley was discharged, paying his fees which came to seventy odd pounds ; a tolerable sum for one week's scurvy lodging in the butcher-row !'

'The whole process,' comments Dr Johnson, 'was probably intended rather to intimidate Pope than to punish Whitehead,' and, indeed, Dodsley did not dare to publish Pope's third *Dialogue*. The vengeance of the Lords, however, was not, as Victor expected, fatal to its author, for in a little while Whitehead seems to have returned to his house without molestation from the Gentleman Usher or anyone else. Nor was he short-lived, as Victor had suggested. At a later period he became intimate with Sir Francis Dashwood, John Wilkes and Churchill—who, however, did not hesitate to pillory him in one of his poems :

' May I (can worse disgrace on manhood fall)  
Be born a Whitehead, and baptised a Paul.'—

and was a member of the notorious Hell-fire Club. He lived to a ripe old age, but Dodsley does not seem to have printed anything further from his pen.

Benjamin Victor remained on friendly terms with the publisher during his lifetime. He was the author of several plays, and, like Dodsley, had risen from a humble station. At this time he lived in Pall Mall, only two or three doors from the *Tully's Head*, and

whilst in London must have been a frequent guest at Dodsley's table. The only letter of his to the publisher which has been preserved belongs to a much later date, but may here be given as exhibiting the rather curious epistles which a man in Dodsley's position was liable to receive.

'My dear Dodsley,' he writes from Dublin in August, 1753, 'My worthy friend Mr Tickell is just arrived here, and at our first interview he gave me the pleasure of hearing him speak very advantageously of you. He tells me Sir William Wolseley has but very lately apprised you of my intention to be indebted to your care for the printing and publishing a work I have just finished ; you have, I presume, heard of the subject. It has swelled to three hundred pages in manuscript of a quarto size, which perhaps will make about the same number in octavo. I would have it printed on my account, as I take it for granted, you (and any London bookseller) would think me stark mad, if they heard the value I set on the copy. I suppose you will fix the price at two shillings unbound, if it will bear sixpence more, so much the better. I would have three thousand printed off in the first impression ; I don't doubt you think that number preposterous—but you are to take into consideration that all other new books have the curiosity of the public to raise, but that difficulty is conquered already, and not only London, but every county in England is full of expectation, as it is the most unparalleled story, founded on facts, that ever appeared since the creation. I shall send the copy by a safe hand to you, and desire

Sir William Wolseley (as it is written at his request) to apply to you for a sight of it, because it may be necessary for him to get some able friend of his at the bar to look it carefully over, that no offence may be given to the forms of law ; but I desire the copy may be delivered to no one but Sir William in person. The paper and letter I shall leave to your choice, only remember the affidavits must be in Italics. I know you to be an honest man—and in this case, I expect and desire, that you deal with me as a man of business which admits of no compliment. If you have any doubt about the success of the sale, and of its being able to pay the expences of printing and publishing, let me know it, and I will give you any security in London ; for my own part I shall think myself sufficiently obliged to you, for your care and trouble on this occasion ; as the correcting the press must fall to your share, that favour will lay me under an infinite obligation, which I shall gratefully acknowledge whenever you think proper to commend the service,

‘ Of your friend and servant,

‘ BENJ. VICTOR.’

What this ‘ most unparalleled story ’ may have been, does not appear, for Dodsley did not print anything for his friend, and the *History of the Theatres* did not appear until 1761. Perhaps Dodsley’s shrewd opinion of the manuscript was not of so enthusiastic a nature as its author’s.



### CHAPTER III

#### THEATRICAL WORK, 1737-1749

**S**PEAKING of 1737, Doran says: 'Drury gained this season a new author in Dodsley,' who 'gave wholesome food to satisfy the public appetite; and the man who had not long before slipped off a livery, showed more respect for decency than any gallant of them all. He was the only successful author of the season.' His pen, indeed, had not been idle. The *Toy-shop* had been a welcome addition to satire, but rather as a pamphlet, which was frequently reprinting, than as a stage piece; and it was not until Feb. 1736-7, when Dodsley's play, *The King and the Miller of Mansfield*, was acted at Drury Lane, that he really experienced a theatrical triumph.

Of the ballad from which his *King and Miller* was taken, it will not be necessary to speak at any length—it was first printed by Percy in his *Reliques*—and it may be sufficient to say that Dodsley, aptly enough, was the first, although not the last, to make use of it for the stage. Like so many other old songs, once so popular in their own particular districts, it tells of the fortuitous meeting of a king—in this case Henry II., who, whilst hunting in his own forest of Sherwood,



has become separated from his followers—and one of his meaner subjects—in this case John Cockle, a miller. Sir Walter Scott, in his Introduction to *Ivanhoe*, cites a very similar story called *The Kyng and the Hermyt*, and, in fact, the Mansfield story has no very distinctive features, but it must have appealed very strongly to Dodsley, who would have known every inch of his ‘native Sherwood,’ and been familiar with the King’s Mill, which popular superstition, though little more, credited with being the very place where honest John Cockle had received his Majesty, and been knighted for his pains. Dodsley seems to have been content to follow the ballad, only adding a love story, in which Dick, the miller’s son, and a repentant Peggy are concerned. The atmosphere of the play is perhaps a little artificial, and the treatment of the female characters, Peggy in particular, does not exhibit any profound psychological insight. The dialogue, however, is exceptionally neat, and displays good technique. The miller, for example, has a pretty wit. ‘Ay,’ says he, ‘now I am convinc’d you are a courtier; here is a little bribe for to-day, and a large promise to-morrow, both in the same breath.’ Further on in the play, Dick says that he has been to the ‘land of Promise.’

‘*Miller*. The land of Promise? What dost thou mean?

‘*Dick*. The Court, father.’

The miller himself is enough of a courtier to make rather a neat epigram. ‘The more compliments, the less manners,’ is a line which is quite modern in its form and expression.

Dodsley's satire, remarks one biographer, is 'pointed, though not personal; the sentiments do honour to humanity, and the catastrophe'—if such it can be called—'is perfectly simple, affecting, and just.' The play deserved its success, but neither Dodsley himself, nor the most sanguine of his admirers could have supposed that it would prove to be one of the most popular plays in an ever-increasing repertoire for the next twenty years.

It was not apparently offered to Mr Rich, whose theatre at this time, and for some years to come, did not enjoy the wide patronage given to Drury Lane, but to the younger Cibber, who had then closed his house in the Haymarket and returned to the older theatre. The play was performed for the first time with Hughes' *Siege of Damascus*, on Jan. 29th, 1736-7, five nights after Rich had revived the *Toy-shop* at Covent Garden. Cibber himself played the king, and Mrs Pritchard Peggy. It was performed, says Genest, 'with much success,' and repeated with various plays on Feb. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd. On the 5th it was played with Sotherne's *Fatal Marriage*, and repeated on the 7th, 8th, 10th, 14th, and 15th. By command of the Prince and Princess of Wales it was performed on the 16th with Farquhar's *Twin Rivals*, on which occasion the celebrated Dr Arne composed for it a 'comic medley overture.' Further representations took place on Feb. 17th, 18th, 21st, 22nd, March 14th, 17th, 21st, on which night the *Toy-shop* was again played at the rival theatre, 22nd, a benefit night for Cibber, who seems to have enjoyed

his part, 24th, 31st, April 2nd, 13th, 25th, and May 7th. On May 15th, 'at the particular desire of several Ladies of Quality,' amongst whom no doubt were some of those who had subscribed to the author's *Muse in Livery*, it was repeated with the *Busybody*, 'for the benefit of the author.' This appears to have been Dodsley's first benefit night; he had certainly deserved one, for his play continued in its triumphant course, and was repeated on May 19th and 23rd, and—for the last time that season—on June 11th.

Few can have grudged him his success. His modesty and good nature preserved him from all conceit, and the number of his friends and patrons increased. He was a welcome guest at Twickenham, both at Pope's villa, and at Lord Radnor's house, while at his own table might be found many of those who were soon to become famous. At the same time, however, as he was enjoying a certain social success, he was attending diligently to his business, and was gradually laying up that small fortune which enabled him in later years to retire from the *Tully's Head*, and give all his time to literary pursuits.

He published his play on Feb. 8th, and took the precaution to enter it in the Hall Book, advertising at the same time his determination 'to prosecute any Person that shall print it or sell any pirated Edition with the utmost Severity.' Its success at Drury Lane led him to write a sequel, *Sir John Cockle at Court*, wherein the miller comes to London and pleases the king by his blunt words and honest behaviour. This second play was acted at Drury Lane

with Otway's *Venice Preserved*, for the first time on Feb. 23rd, 1737-8, but although Cibber appeared again as the King, and the popular Mrs Clive acted the miller's daughter, now dazzled by her new position and in consequence faithless to her rustic lover, the little piece failed to please. There was, in fact, much dissatisfaction displayed amongst the audience at certain lines, and even with these removed, the public showed none of the enthusiasm which it had for the first piece. *Sir John Cockle* was therefore withdrawn after the second performance, and the *King and Miller*, which had been revived on Jan. 21st, took its place. Here it may be noted that Dodsley had three plays acted in London theatres within one month. *Sir John Cockle* was played on Feb. 23rd, the *King and Miller* on March 18th and 25th, and the *Toy-shop* at Covent Garden on March 20th. The reason for the failure of the second Mansfield play seems to lie in the increased artificiality of its atmosphere, and complete absence of action. Local colour could not be introduced, and the fact that Kitty temporarily discards a faithful farmer for a rakish lord is scarcely of much interest to anyone. In neither of these plays is Dodsley's dramatic power much in evidence, and without extraneous interest he was apparently unable to write anything approaching greatness. But at the same time it must be admitted that he knew exactly how to suit the taste of his time, as is evident from the repeated performances of the first piece. 'There is,' says one biographer, 'a simplicity and fitness for the drama in the turn of the

former production which it seems impossible to attach to the circumstances attending the knighted miller's appearance at Court. It must be admitted,' he continues, 'that these farces, taken in a connected point of view, exhibit a striking contrast between the blunt honesty of rustic manners, and the splendid finesse of court ceremony.' Two years later the first play was still being played to crowded houses, even though Cibber had been replaced by Winstone, and a similar entertainment was being provided for the patrons of the New Wells, Clerkenwell, called *The Happy Miller Arriv'd, or let None Despair*, a possible burlesque, but more probably, an open piracy or hotch-potch of both plays. And almost every season right on to the seventies, the little piece was being played either at Drury Lane or at Covent Garden, and it may with justice be called one of the most popular plays of the century. So late, moreover, as 1809, an Italian translation was being given at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket.

The season of 1741 saw the production of a fourth play of Dodsley's, the *Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, performed at Drury Lane on April 3rd, but in spite of Mrs Clive's acting, and one or two songs of more than average merit, it was not repeated. The *King and Miller*, however, was revived with great success, and played during some weeks at both theatres. Cibber had migrated to Covent Garden, and played the King there for the first time on March 9th; at Drury Lane Gibson was taking his part. There were altogether nineteen performances. The *Toy-shop*, too, was played



for the first time at Drury Lane this season, which also saw the publication of an English translation of Lewis Riccoboni's *Historical and Critical Account of the Theatres of Europe*. In this Dodsley appears to have had half a share, and it was of considerable use to him when, three years later, he was preparing the introductory essay to his still well-known *Collection of Old Plays*.

As Dodsley informs us, one Kirkman, a bookseller, had about eighty years before, 'made diligent enquiry after old plays, and collected and published a great number.' Since Kirkman's day, however, little if anything had been done to reprint the older dramatists, and Dodsley's love of the stage had suggested to him an undertaking of this nature. For this purpose he had purchased, probably by private treaty from Osborne, the plays, some seven hundred in number, which had belonged to the famous Harleian collection. He had also made the acquaintance of Sir Clement Cottrell Dormer, a friend at Court and afterwards Master of the Ceremonies, who placed at his disposal his own library which happened to be rich in theatrical literature. Situated thus advantageously, he framed the following proposal, which appeared in the *London Evening Post* for March 24-26, 1743 :

'As all our Old Plays, except Shakespeare's, Johnson's and Beaumont and Fletcher's, are become exceeding scarce and extravagantly dear, I propose, if I can procure 200 Subscribers, to select from such of our Dramatic Writers, as are of any considerable Repute, about Forty or Fifty Plays. I shall take only



one or two of the best from each Author, as a Specimen of their Manner, and to shew the Humour of their Times. There are also many single Plays well worth preserving ; such as the Gorboduc of Lord Buckhurst, the Marriage Night of Lord Faulkland, and some others. I will print them in a handsome manner, in Pocket Volumes, and at so cheap a Rate that they shall not exceed Sixpence each Play. In Making this Collection I shall not rely on my own Opinion, but consult the most judicious of my Friends, who have promised me their best Assistance in this Work. And, that such as are willing to encourage it may not run any Hazard, I desire no money but upon the Delivery of the Books.'

The booksellers, he added, were to have ' a handsome allowance,' and those who were pleased to send their names and places of abode by the General or Penny-post, might depend on having them carefully inserted in the first volume.

The undertaking seems to have met with immediate and wide support, for by the following week Dodsley was able to announce that he had received the necessary number of names, and proposed to go to press ' with all the expedition that the difficulty of making a proper and judicious choice ' would admit.

Ten volumes ultimately made their appearance on Feb. 1st, 1744-5, an additional two a year later. They were prefaced by an exceedingly well-written and carefully prepared account, of Dodsley's own composition, of the *Rise and Fall of the English Stage*, and to each play was attached a few words about the author, introductions which serve to show the editor's

diligence and wide reading. At the time of publication he had obtained nearly eight hundred subscribers, including Mr Pope, who died three months later ; David Garrick, then a newcomer, though not unknown, to the London public ; Mr Spence, just then home from a third and last tour on the continent with Lord Lincoln, during which he had met many distinguished people, including young Horace Walpole, whose life he had been instrumental in saving ; Warburton, not then on bad terms with Dodsley ; Lord Radnor ; and many of those great ladies who seem to have followed his career, much as they followed Richardson's, with so great an interest. The collection was dedicated to Sir Clement Dormer, was widely bought by the booksellers, and helped to increase Dodsley's reputation not a little. If there had been any question of his abilities before, all doubts must by now have been dispelled, and his *Old Plays*, by which, indeed, he is best remembered at the present day, may be said to have been a permanent and important contribution to English literature. 'The art of collation,' says Mr Tedder,<sup>1</sup> 'was then unknown, and when he [Dodsley] undertook the work, the duties of an editor of other than classic literature were not so well understood as in more recent times,' but the author of the *Toy-shop* showed no little erudition, and his comments have the merit of good judgment and conciseness.

In the following year the always ambitious bookseller endeavoured to introduce *Rex & Pontifex* 'a new Species of Pantomime' on the stage, but was

<sup>1</sup> D.N.B. <sup>2</sup> Article, *Robert Dodsley*.

unable to find a producer for what was in reality a kind of morality play, and it was not until 1749 that he appeared once again as acted playwright. Peace with France had been proclaimed in London on Feb. 2nd, and on the 21st of the month, Dodsley's masque *The Triumph of Peace* was performed at Drury Lane for the first time. It was repeated on the 23rd, 25th, 27th, and 28th; March 2nd, 4th, 6th, 27th, and 28th. On April 14th the last scene only, representing 'a view of the Temple of Peace'—a fine spectacular display, one imagines—was performed 'for the Benefit of Mr Leviez the Ballet Master.' The masque seems to have caught the public fancy, and three other theatres brought out similar performances.

This was the last of Dodsley's dramatic works until 1758, when his tragedy *Cleone* was acted at Covent Garden. The story of that production, however, is so interesting, and introduces so many well-known names, that it will be dealt with by itself in a later chapter.

## CHAPTER IV

### SOME PUBLICATIONS AND THEIR AUTHORS, 1741-1747

‘**I**F any biography,’ writes Mr Austin Dobson, ‘may fairly resemble a catalogue, it should assuredly be that of a publisher,’ and it may perhaps be well to touch here upon the more interesting productions which succeeded in establishing Dodsley at the head of his profession. One may begin, moreover, with an acknowledged failure, which shows that in spite of the influence of Pope, Lyttelton, Chesterfield, and the ever-increasing circle of powerful friends who rallied round him, he was not allowed on all occasions to have his own way. The trouble arose over his attempt in 1741 to establish a rival to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, then the most powerful of the many periodicals in existence. This journal had been founded ten years before by the printer Edward Cave. It had been widely imitated, and pirated—on the occasion of its eighth anniversary the editor triumphantly enumerates no less than eleven imitations ‘which are either all dead, or very little regarded by the World’—and it had had of late Samuel Johnson as its principal contributor. The *Gentleman’s Magazine*, however, was a monthly publication, and Dodsley proposed to issue a paper on somewhat similar lines,

which should appear every week. A high literary standard was to be maintained, all the contributions were to be original, space was not to be wasted upon advertisements of quack medicines, and the insertion of 'news, foreign and domestick,' was to be made an important feature. In a word, the new venture was to combine the chief features of the ordinary newspaper and the more purely literary qualities of the *Gentleman's Magazine* and its compeers. Accordingly, Dodsley advertised the *Publick Register : or the Weekly Magazine*, the first number of which appeared on Jan. 3rd, 1741, as a threepenny pamphlet of sixteen pages. It seems to have been most favourably received. An unpublished song of Gay's with several good essays and rather more news than Cave was accustomed to give his readers, appealed to a large public, but opposition was immediately aroused. It was only natural that those who wished for early news, together with literary contributions, would hardly wait for the monthly magazines, and Cave and a few other proprietors were compelled to resort to concerted action. For a time, however, nothing happened. The paper maintained a high standard, and held its own. Original verse by Lord Peterborough and Lord Chesterfield appeared, there were literary criticisms of a high order, and such political news as was printed showed no bias. Doubts, however, of Dodsley's ability to carry on such a task as he had set himself, seem to have arisen in more than one quarter. In the tenth number an amusing poem was addressed



to him in his character as editor. 'Pray, sir,' wrote his anonymous correspondent,

'let me ask, as a friend, what you mean,  
By engaging so late, in a new magazine.  
There is room to suspect from your quaint dedication  
To th' Empress <sup>1</sup> that rules o'er the taste of the nation,  
That you flatter yourself, if she would but befriend ye  
In this your new project, Success must attend ye.  
But if this be your hope, there will soon be an end on't ;  
For in less than twelve months, she'll desert you, depend on't.'

Surely, he continued, every 'cunning contrivance' had been tried by Cave, who had been first in the field. What, then, had Dodsley to offer that was new ?

'What articles left ye, uncommon or new ?  
Without which, you know, there can nothing prevail  
Excepting pure merit, to further a sale ;  
And this is so hard, that I venture to ask,  
How you came to attempt such a difficult task.  
'Tis true, your satirical wit has been hansel'd ;  
As appears by the *Toy-shop* and *Miller of Mansfield* ;  
But a weekly performance will certainly drain  
In a quarter or two, the most volatile brain.  
Then doubtless, you've many good friends, by the bye,  
On whom you depend for a frequent supply :  
And some, let me tell you, are forward to hope,  
That your work now and then will be season'd by P-pe.'

Mr Pope, however, was now nearing his end, and no contribution came from Twickenham, but Dodsley persevered and endeavoured to follow the advice of his unknown friend who, having mentioned all the difficulties which he imagined beset the master of *Tully's Head*, bade him

<sup>1</sup> The *Publick Register* had been dedicated 'To the Most Puissant and Sovereign Empress Novelty in an article signed 'N. H.' The Hon. Nathaniel Herbert, afterwards one of Dodsley's friends and correspondents, was possibly its author.



'Go on with courage, your strength will be equal  
To your talk, and you need have no pain for the sequel.'

But Cave and the others could not afford to allow the new magazine to continue unmolested, and it was pointed out to the authorities, exactly by whom is not known, that the *Publick Register* was technically a newspaper, and therefore liable to be 'stamped' as such—a matter of considerable expense. Although his own paper contained pages of news, it can hardly be doubted that Cave had a hand in this business. And so Dodsley, in his thirteenth number, was obliged to omit all news. At the same time, however, he expressed surprise, 'as some other pamphlets of a like nature have been permitted for several years, that we, who are the latest in offence, should be the earliest in punishment.' For five weeks the paper continued without news, and the circulation suffered in consequence, but in the seventeenth number there appeared a notice of a change in tactics. 'As we find,' writes Dodsley, 'that our readers, particularly in the country, are very desirous of having the news in this paper as usual, we are determin'd to gratify them, and yet not willing to raise the price of our paper. In order therefore to afford it at the same price to the publick, we have chosen to print two pages less than we did, to balance the expence we are at in stamping that half-sheet which contains the news.' Accordingly, on the following Saturday, the news was again inserted, and Dodsley hoped for a still wider circulation by inserting the 'Memoirs of a Certain Society,' which was no less than a fairly accurate

account of the debates in Parliament. Cave himself had inaugurated parliamentary reports nine years before, and had only desisted in 1738 when arrest for what was really a breach of privilege seemed imminent, but he had continued to give what he called an 'Account of the Debates in the Senate of Great Lilliput,' wherein the real speakers in Parliament had been thinly disguised upon a Swiftian principle, and Dodsley followed his example. In an age so widely interested in politics, the inclusion of such reports was bound to be widely popular, and for a time Dodsley scored, but Cave and the others exerted all the influence at their command, and prevailed upon the proprietors of various newspapers not to advertise the new paper. Such a move was totally unexpected, and impossible to fight against. In a later number, indeed, Dodsley was constrained to print a series of sarcastic queries addressed to his rivals; he hit as hard as he could, but his opponents prevailed, and at the twenty-fourth number the *Publick Register* ceased publication.

'The favourable reception,' he wrote on this occasion, 'which this paper for some time met with, induced me to hope that it would be worth my while to have carried it on; but the additional expence I was obliged to in stamping it, and the ungenerous usage I have met with from one of the proprietors of a certain monthly pamphlet, who has prevail'd with most of the common newspapers not to advertise it, compel me for the present to discontinue it. Perhaps at a proper season I may revive it with more advantage; in the meantime I beg leave to return thanks

to such of my friends and correspondents as have voluntarily contributed to the support of it, and hope they will continue the favour of their friendship on any further occasion.'

If, however, he had failed with his first periodical, better times were to come, and the 'further occasion' was provided in five years, when his position in the bookselling and newspaper world had been considerably strengthened.

In the meantime an event of some importance in Dodsley's life had happened. He had made the acquaintance of the then unknown William Shenstone, the poet whose lifelong friend and biographer he was afterwards to become. At this time Shenstone had inherited a small property near Birmingham, called the Leasowes, where he spent his time between writing poetry and converting a rather ordinary house and garden into a little domain that was, according to Dr Johnson 'the envy of the great and the admiration of the skilful.' As yet he had published no more than an anonymous poetical miscellany written whilst in residence at Johnson's old college at Oxford, but being encouraged by Lyttelton, whose father's estate at Hagley was not very far from his own, he composed, some time in 1739, a poem called *The Judgment of Hercules*. This was shown in manuscript to a few friends, and highly commended. 'You'll find me degenerate,' one finds him writing to a friend at this time, 'from a gentle bard into a snarling critic, if my poem does not please . . . but let its fate be what it will, I shall lay no small stress upon the

opinion of some that have approved it.' Chief of these, no doubt, was Lyttelton himself, to whom the poem was inscribed, and Lyttelton seems to have suggested Dodsley as a suitable publisher. To him, therefore, the poem was sent, and in a little time Mr Shenstone was following his manuscript. It is possible that the poet, who was ever of a retiring and rather melancholy disposition, would not have gone to London to watch over the publication of his poem, had he not happened to see in some newspaper an advertisement of a poem on the same subject. Rather naturally he supposed that a copy of his own work had somehow come into the hands of a publisher, and he seems immediately to have set out for London, only, however, to find that the advertised poem was not his own but the work of Robert Lowth, afterwards Bishop of London and a friend of Dodsley's. Once in London, however, he decided to stay there until the poem should be printed, and took lodgings at the 'King's Arms by Temple Bar, Fleet Street.' Dodsley eventually published his poem on April 23rd, 1741, and the piece met with some success. 'There are several errors in the press,' the author writes on April 30th, 'which neither sagacity nor vigilance itself, I now see, can prevent,' and in the same letter there is an interesting reference to Dodsley himself, which illustrates the publisher's own reputation as a poet. 'I was yesterday loitering,' he relates, 'in the coffee room, when two persons came in, well dressed, and called for my poem'—the coffee-houses of that time very largely took the place of the lending

libraries of to-day—‘read a page or two, and commended the four lines upon Mr Lyttelton extremely . . . repeated them forty times, and in the end got them by heart.’ And, continuing, he tells with no small satisfaction, how one of them supposes it to be the work of Pope, though Pope’s own name appears. ‘“No doubt, though, it is the work of Mr Pope, or Mr Dodsley.”’ ‘However,’ adds the poet rather ruefully, ‘I find some do allow it to be Mallet’s.’ To be likened to Mr Pope or even to Mr Dodsley, did not disturb, but rather flattered, him ; but to be mistaken for David Mallet, a ballad-writer of no particular merit, was hardly to his liking.

The *Judgment of Hercules*, however, does not seem to have had much more than a *succès d’estime*, and in the following year, when Shenstone proposed to print another poem *The Schoolmistress*, Dodsley merely acted as agent. It was this inimitable poem, as D’Israeli calls it, which established Shenstone’s reputation, and it is rather curious to note that Dodsley, usually a good judge, seems to have blundered when, years later, he was editing his friend’s works, by including it amongst the moral poems. In reality it is nothing of the sort. To place it where he did, moreover, Dodsley was obliged to omit the very amusing index which Shenstone had written, and which only appears in the first edition. In a letter to his (and Dodsley’s) friend Richard Graves—a great character in his day and author of *The Spiritual Quixote*—the poet expressly speaks of his piece as ‘ludicrous poetry’ to which has been added ‘a



ludicrous index purely to shew (fools) that I am in jest.' The poem, indeed, was a burlesque of Spenser, and had a deserved popularity. 'I think it quite sufficient,' wrote Byron in his copy, 'to entitle him to a conspicuous niche in the pantheon of the British Muses.' Two lines from it are often quoted, though it may be doubted whether they are generally known to be Shenstone's :

'A little band of heedless bishops here,  
And there a chancellour in embryo.'

Shenstone quite undeservedly has dropped out of notice, but in his day he occupied a higher position than Collins, and approached Gray in point of popularity.

His letters make no further mention of Dodsley until 1743, when one finds him writing to Mr Graves : 'My printer was preparing his bill for the Schoolmistress, when I stopped him short, with a hint to go to Dodsley, who has not reckoned with me for Hercules. Let the dead bury their dead.' Shenstone was ever a poor man, and his assiduous attention to the gardens of the Leasowes ultimately brought him into pecuniary difficulties, but it is doubtful whether Dodsley was able to pay him any great sum.

The letter just quoted mentions another poem of far wider popularity than Shenstone's own work. Three weeks after the appearance of *The Schoolmistress* Dodsley put forth the first *Night* of Edward Young's *Complaint*, and the five following *Nights* were published during the next two years. For some reason Dr Young then changed his publisher, although



he remained on friendly terms with Dodsley for many years, as will appear in a little. There are two agreements still extant—between Young and Dodsley—which concern the publication of this poem, now better known as *Night Thoughts*. The first of these is dated Nov. 24th, 1743, and contains the information that Dr Young assigns the copyright of the first five parts of his poem to Mr Dodsley for 160 guineas. The second is an assignment of the sixth part for 60 guineas. This was rather more than Dodsley had at first been prepared to give, a fact which may explain the change of publisher, but from a letter of Benjamin Victor, dated Aug. 15th, 1742, it would appear that the poet had considerably enlarged his initial scheme. 'It is to be published,' writes Victor, 'in three parts; and Dodsley told me, he had given two hundred pounds for the copy; the author has carefully conceal'd his name on purpose to try the force of his poem.' Dr Young was then an old man—he had been born so long ago as 1681—of considerable reputation, and his name would have sold many copies of his latest work, but *The Complaint* was issued anonymously, and for some time sold on its own merits. Edition after edition was called for, and the poem, if not read now, became one of the classics of the eighteenth century.

On May 30th, 1744, Mr Pope died, and Dodsley was with him almost to the end. Spence in his *Anecdotes*, relates how one day, before he died, the poet in his delirium asked Dodsley, who was alone with him, whose arm it was that came out of the wall. He had indeed been a good friend to the bookseller, and had

fully earned the latter's devotion. Several further volumes of his work had been issued from the *Tully's Head*, notably a second volume of the *Letters* and an octavo edition of the *Dunciad*, and Dodsley's visits to Twickenham must have been singularly regular. He was present in Lord Radnor's garden on May 6th, 1740, when Warburton first met Pope, and afterwards told Joseph Warton how astonished he had been 'at the high compliments paid by Pope to Warburton as they approached, the poet declaring that he looked on the other as his benefactor.' This was shortly after Warburton's defence of the *Essay on Man* had been published in reply to Crousaz. It was Dodsley, too, who told Dr Johnson of the methods which Pope had adopted with his two satires of 1738, when swift publication had been essential. 'Dodsley told me,' writes the Doctor, 'that they were brought to him by the author, that they might be fairly copied. "Almost every line," he said, "was then written twice over: I gave him a clean transcript, which he some time afterwards sent to me for the press, with almost every line written twice over a second time."' Johnson also records the fact that 'after a decent time' Dodsley went to Mr Pope's executors 'to solicit preference as the publisher,' but was told that the parcel containing such writings as had not yet been published had not been inspected. It does not seem, indeed, as though they were ever completely inspected.

Dodsley seems to have felt the poet's loss very deeply indeed. In a volume of his own things, dedicated rather fastidiously to 'To-morrow,' which

he issued in 1745 under the title of *Trifles*, there occurs a short poem 'On the Death of Mr Pope' which succinctly describes his feelings. The last stanza may be given :

' And, O great shade ! permit thy humblest friend  
 His sigh to wast, his grateful tear to pay  
 Thy honour'd memory ; and condescend  
 To hear, well-pleas'd, the weak yet well-meant lay,  
 Lamenting thus ; he's gone, who had the art,  
 With sounds to soothe the ear, with sense to warm the heart.'

This volume is additionally interesting as it contains a copy of verses entitled the *Art of Preaching*. In spite of some who, from its high merits, would ascribe it to another, Dodsley himself was certainly the author.<sup>1</sup> Four lines of it seem to have been written from actual experience.

' If bards to Pope indifferent verses show,  
 He is too honest not to tell them so.  
 This is obscure, he cries, and this too rough,  
 These trifling, or superfluous ; strike them off !'

and then he adds whole-heartedly :

' How useful every word from such a friend !'

Besides the two poems mentioned, there are other pieces of interest in this first collection of Dodsley's own work. Curiously enough one of the shorter poems, entitled *A Lamentable Case Submitted to the Bath Physicians*, is included in most of the editions of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams's Works. It is not

<sup>1</sup> Although issued anonymously, the following advertisement appeared in the *London Evening Post*, on August 24, 1738 :—

' This Day is Published  
 The Art of Preaching. In Imitation  
 of Horace's Art of Poetry.  
 By R. Dodsley.'

likely that Dodsley would have included under his own name the work of another, but why this poem occurs as the work of both authors is not clear. In 1742 Sir C. H. Williams had published an 'Open Letter to Mr Dodsley' on the subject of the inept Lord Wilmington, and he was certainly acquainted with him—several of his Odes were published from the *Tully's Head*—but beyond that nothing is known. Another poem to be noticed is his *Pain and Patience*, which had been printed separately in the last month of 1743. In many of his letters, mention is made of his terrible attacks of gout. Hardly a year, indeed, passed without some weeks of intense pain, which, however, was borne with great fortitude. When it first appeared this poem had been dedicated to Dodsley's own physician, Dr Shaw, 'as a publick Testimony of Gratitude for the Happiness of being relieved from intolerable Pain and a tedious Confinement, and restored to Ease and the Use of my Limbs.' He was fighting against the gout until the very day of his death.

At the end of the book may be found *The Chronicle of the Kings of England . . . Written in the Manner of the Jewish Historians*, which had been originally published under the pseudonym of Nathan Ben Saddi in 1740. That this is Dodsley's work is sufficiently proved by the fact that in an old letter-book of his, there occur certain passages from the *Chronicle* in his handwriting. It is of more than ordinary interest as being in all probability the first production in which the style of the Bible was parodied. An amusing pas-

sage is often quoted. 'Elizabeth's ministers,' writes Dodsley, 'were just, her counsellors were sage; her captains were bold, and her maids of honour ate beef-steaks for breakfast!' Wider known, however, than this *Chronicle* is Dodsley's famous epigram on Bishop Burnet, who, in the *History of His Own Times*, had spoken of a famous poet and politician as 'one Prior.' Dodsley retorted as follows:

'One Prior! and is this, this all the fame  
The poet from th' Historian can claim!  
No; Prior's verse posterity shall quote,  
When 't is forgot One Burnet ever wrote.'

In this collection, too, were reprinted Dodsley's twelve songs, first issued in 1742 under the title of *Colin's Kisses*, and set to music by the bookseller-musician John Oswald. These songs, indeed, have been frequently reprinted during the last century in various anthologies. The best known is *The Parting Kiss*:

'One kind kiss before we part,  
Drop a tear, and bid adieu;  
Tho' we sever, my fond heart  
Till we meet shall pant for you.

Yet, yet weep not so, my love,  
Let me kiss that falling tear;  
Tho' my body must remove,  
All my soul will still be there.

All my soul, and all my heart,  
And every wish shall pant for you;  
One kind kiss then e'er we part,  
Drop a tear, and bid adieu.'

It may be doubted whether the majority of those



who quote this gentle song know that the eighteenth-century bookseller was its author.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly before Mr Pope's death, Dodsley had sought his advice upon a long poem recently submitted to him for publication. Its obscure author, however, had demanded so large a sum for the copyright, that Dodsley, although he recognized its many merits, was fearful of the great expense to which he would be put. This was in the summer of 1743, and the manuscript was *The Pleasures of Imagination* by Mark Akenside, a Newcastle doctor who had as yet only published short pieces in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Dr Johnson records Pope's advice on this occasion. 'I have heard Dodsley relate,' he writes, 'that when the copy was offered him, the price demanded for it, which was a hundred and twenty pounds, being such as he was not inclined to give precipitately, he carried the work to Pope, who, having looked into it, advised him not to make a niggardly offer; for "this was no everyday writer." ' The poem was ultimately published anonymously on Jan. 16th, 1744, and was reissued in octavo four months later. It had so large a sale that an obscure scribbler by name Rolt is supposed to have gone over to Ireland and published there an edition under his own name 'upon the fame of which he lived for several months, being entertained at the best tables as the ingenious Mr Rolt.'

<sup>1</sup> Dodsley had considerable success as a writer of songs. One of his, entitled *Mutual Love*, which does not appear to have been included in any of the editions of his works, was published in the *General Advertiser*, July 29, 1751, as 'a new Song sung at Vauxhall by Mr Lowe.'



Gray, the poet, upon reading it, wished that the author had held it back for nine years, but his criticism that it was 'middling' was not shared by the general public, and from that time Akenside's position was assured. He speedily became friends with his publisher, who in the same year put forth his *Epistle to Curio*—written to Pulteney on his acceptance of a peerage—which was followed some months later by his *Odes on Several Subjects*. The latter led Horace Walpole to speak of him somewhat contemptuously as 'another of these tame geniuses,' but the Odes sold well, and were reissued in a few months. Dodsley, indeed, seems to have thought so highly of his abilities that he asked him to become editor of a new periodical. The time, he found, had at last come when the failure of the *Publick Register* should be wiped out. As a publisher of poetry and *belles lettres* he was now without a rival, and he seized the opportunity to project *The Museum, or Literary and Historical Register*, a fortnightly journal which ultimately ran for thirty-nine numbers. Akenside accepted his offer, and accordingly the following agreement was signed :

' Jan. 20, 1745-6.

' Dr Akenside engages to Mr Dodsley for six months, commencing the 25th of March next,—To prepare and have ready for the press, once a fortnight, one Essay, whenever necessary, for carrying on a work to be called *The Museum*. And also,—To prepare and have ready for the press, once a fortnight, an account of the most considerable books in English, Latin,

French or Italian, which have been lately published, and which Mr Dodsley shall furnish: and the said Account of Books shall be so much in quantity as, along with the Essay above mentioned, may fill a sheet and a half of small pica, whenever so much is necessary for carrying on the said design. Dr Akin-side also engages to supervise the whole, and to correct the press of his own part. On condition—That Mr Dodsley shall pay to Dr Akinside fifty pounds on or before the 27th. of September next—'T is also agreed that so long as Mr Dodsley thinks proper to continue the Paper, and so long as Dr Akinside consents to manage it, the terms above mentioned shall remain in force, and not less than an hundred pounds per annum be offered by Mr Dodsley, nor more insisted on by Dr Akinside, as witness our hands.

' MARK AKINSIDE.

' ROB<sup>t</sup> DODSLEY.'

*The Museum* contained no 'news,' but maintained a good literary standard, and Akenside and Dodsley<sup>1</sup> found many willing contributors. The two Wartons—the learned brothers, as Johnson called them, and both shortly to become intimate with Dodsley—the unfortunate William Collins, Soame Jenyns, Merrick, William Whitehead, Stephen Duck, Christopher Pitt, Garrick, Lord Hervey, Isaac Hawkins Browne and many others gave their assistance. Shenstone

<sup>1</sup> Mr Tedder in the *Dictionary of National Biography* asserts that the Museum 'was projected by Dodsley,' who 'had a quarter share of the profits, the remainder belonging to Longman, Shewell, Hitch and Rivington.'

sent his friend Jago's essay on Electricity an 'exquisite piece of humour' as he thought it, and apparently never printed, but was too late, as Dodsley had already sent the last number to press. 'When I receiv'd your agreeable piece of Ridicule,' he writes to the Leasowes on this occasion—and the letter is of interest as being the earliest preserved of the many that Dodsley sent to his friend—'I was sick in bed, or you would have heard from me sooner. I suppose you know by this time that y<sup>e</sup> Museum is dropt, but I think your Essay is too good to be lost, if therefore you have no objection I will endeavour to get it inserted in some other of y<sup>e</sup> Public Papers.'

Another would-be contributor was William Warburton. On the 24th of April, 1745, Dodsley had published anonymously an *Essay on Satire: Occasioned by the Death of Mr Pope*. This was the work of Dr John Brown, then a minor Canon at Carlisle. Warburton was mentioned in the poem, but for some reason had received no copy. He wrote therefore to Dodsley: 'I saw by accident on the road a poem called an *Essay on Satire* . . . and was surprised to see so excellent a piece of poetry, and, what was more uncommon, so much good reasoning. I find it has been published some time. If it be not a secret, I should be glad to know the author. If I have leisure, I shall give some account of it for the literary news of your Museum.' Warburton, however, does not appear to have sent in his proposed contribution, and from that time onwards his relations with Dodsley seem to have been strained.

Brown, now possibly remembered for his *Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*, afterwards behaved disgracefully to his publisher, but at this time seems to have been on good terms with him. It would appear from a letter of his dated Oct. 5th, 1745, that he had written further essays for Dodsley on some subject of immediate interest and proposed a rather curious method of publication. 'The inclosed Paper,' he wrote, 'will inform you of my Design, and give You a Specimen of the Manner in which I intend to pursue it. If you chuse to engage in an Affair of this Nature, please to let me Know your Resolution by the first Opportunity. As to the Method in which these Essays may be published, I have not come to any Determination about it. I should like to have one Essay printed every week in a single Sheet, but that I believe would subject them to the Stamp Duty, which must greatly increase the Expençe of Printing them. The other Method which I think may be more feasible will be to throw four Essays together once a Month, which will make up at least a sixpenny Pamphlet. If you approve of this Method, I shall be ready to furnish you with four every month, of which You shall have the Liberty to print one Edition of what Number you please, for five Guineas each Month: This I am certain is a very moderate Share of the Profit that must arise from them if they meet with any tolerable Success, and if there is not a probability of this I think they had much better remain unpublished.' It seems not improbable that these essays were afterwards issued as the *Historical Memoirs*

which formed part of Dodsley's *Museum*, and here it may be noticed that, so far as they are concerned, the *Museum* is the clear forerunner of the *Annual Register* which Dodsley some twelve years later was projecting with his friend Edmund Burke.

Another contributor was Joseph Spence, who is known to have been the author of *An Epistle of a Swiss Officer to a Friend at Rome*, and who most probably wrote many of the literary criticisms which form an interesting part of the paper. Most of his time, however, was now being given to his exhaustive 'Enquiry concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets and the Remains of the Antient Artists,' which ultimately appeared under the title of *Polymetis* in February, 1747. From this 'handsome folio,' upon which he was content to rest his literary fame, Spence cleared £1500, and settled down in retirement at Byfleet in Surrey.

During this period Dodsley published several of Swift's works, the most famous being his *Directions to Servants*, which was issued posthumously on Feb. 13th, 1746. One cannot help wondering what the honest man thought of them. Though it is doubtful whether he had ever seen Swift himself, Dodsley was acquainted with George Faulkner, the Dublin bookseller, who had enjoyed a large share of the dean's confidence, and he is mentioned in Swift's published correspondence, wherein, oddly enough, the first letter Mr Pope had written to him, promising help with the *Toy-shop*, is given in full.

Other authors whose work appeared from the *Tully's*





REV. JOSEPH SPENCE, AUTHOR OF THE WELL-KNOWN *ANECDOTES*,  
AND DODSLEY'S PATRON AND LIFE-LONG FRIEND





*Head* at this time were Lord Orrery, William Whitehead, not then poet-laureate, Christopher Pitt, who received large sums from Dodsley for his translation of the *Æneid*, Joseph Warton, whose Odes had been accepted, although Collins's had been refused—it had originally been intended to issue both as one publication, but Dodsley knew his public—Gilbert West, Lyttelton, William Melmoth, who will be mentioned later, Charles Jarvis, who translated *Don Quixote*, and whose widow seems to have received no more than £21 and fifteen free copies for the copyright, and Defoe's son-in-law, Henry Baker, F.R.S., of microscope fame. A point of interest is to be found in an agreement, now preserved in the British Museum, between Baker and Dodsley. It is dated June 3rd, 1742, and is witnessed by James Dodsley. This is the earliest mention of Dodsley's youngest brother, who had probably been in London but a few months at the time.<sup>1</sup> He remained in the office for some eleven years before he was taken into partnership.

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested, however, that both James and his sister Alice came to live with their brother on their father's second marriage in 1737.

## CHAPTER V

### DODSLEY AND DR JOHNSON

**F**ROM 1738, when his *London* was published, Dr Johnson seems to have been on intimate terms with Dodsley, who, as he told Bennet Langton, should be treated as his 'patron.' 'Doddy,' as he was affectionately called, had from his first years in Pall Mall endeavoured to make his house something of a *salon*, and the gatherings at the *Tully's Head* were almost as select as those later meetings at Dr Johnson's own Literary Club. 'I reflect, with pleasure,' writes Joseph Warton, many years later, when he was editing Pope's works, 'on the number of eminent men I have met at his hospitable table. "The true Noctes Atticæ," Johnson used to say, "are revived at honest Dodsley's house."' The success of *London*, moreover, had led to further literary proposals, and in the same year we find Johnson translating Pietro Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*. Dodsley, Cave, and one of the Rivingtons were jointly interested in the undertaking, but it was never finished, for, very curiously, another Samuel Johnson, the librarian at St Martin-in-the-Fields, was occupied with the same task. 'Several light skirmishes,' says Boswell, 'passed between the

rival translators, in the newspapers of the day ; and the consequence was that they destroyed each other, for neither of them went on with the work.' Twelve sheets had actually been printed off before it was decided to discontinue the publication.

Nine years passed before Dodsley published anything further of Johnson's, but towards the end of 1747 there appeared the famous *Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language*, with the appearance of which Dodsley had a great deal to do. He was, in fact, one of the 'gentlemen partners,' and the only one of them with whom, it would seem, Johnson remained on cordial terms. He invariably caused Dodsley to act as intermediary during the many little quarrels and disagreements which arose during the seven years of toil.<sup>1</sup> The design, moreover, of the dictionary certainly emanated from Dodsley. 'I have been informed by Mr James Dodsley,' writes Boswell, 'that several years before this period [1747] when Johnson was one day sitting in his brother Robert's shop, he heard his brother suggest to him that a Dictionary of the English Language would be a work that would be well received by the public ; that Johnson seemed at first to catch at the proposition, but, after a pause, said, in his abrupt decisive manner,

<sup>1</sup> The only recorded letter from Johnson to Dodsley would seem to have concerned one of these quarrels. 'I have as you see,' he says therein, 'written my letter, and am yet in doubt whether I shall send it. I cannot see what good it can do you, however if you think differently from me I do not love the reputation of obstinacy or perverseness. I have dated the letter for Monday. You may think on it, whatever you do will please me if you can please yourself. . . .'

“ I believe I shall not undertake it.” That he, however, had bestowed much thought upon the subject before he published his “ Plan ” is evident from the enlarged, clear, and accurate views which it exhibits ; and we find him mentioning in that tract that many of the writers whose testimonies were to be produced as authorities, were selected by Pope ; which proves that he had been furnished, probably by Mr Robert Dodsley, with whatever hints that eminent poet had contributed towards a great literary project, that had been the subject of important consideration in a former reign.’ Further proof of Dodsley’s share in the projection of the Dictionary is given by Johnson himself, who in a letter to Dr Burney, says : ‘ I have no Dictionaries to dispose of for myself, but shall be glad to have you direct your friends to Mr Dodsley, because it was by his recommendation that I was employed in the work.’

Boswell very rightly places Dodsley first in the list of publishers who agreed to share the expenses of printing, and pay Johnson £1575 for his work. The others were Charles Hitch, a personal friend of Dodsley’s, and his partner Hawes, Andrew Millar, the Longmans, and the Knaptons. Such a clique wielded enormous power, and the *Plan* must have had a wide circulation. It was—by Dodsley’s advice—addressed to Lord Chesterfield. ‘ The way,’ Johnson told his faithful biographer, ‘ in which the Plan of my Dictionary came to be inscribed to Lord Chesterfield was this : I had neglected to write it by the time appointed. Dodsley suggested a desire to have it addressed

to Lord Chesterfield. I laid hold of this as a pretext for delay, that it might be better done, and let Dodsley have his desire.' Accordingly the manuscript was sent to Chesterfield by the hands of William Whitehead, and a letter of invitation seems then to have been written to Johnson. Chesterfield, however, does not at this time seem to have shown much interest in the undertaking, and on the memorable occasion when the Doctor called at his house, was too busily engaged to see him. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Jan. 1794 adds particulars to the account of this visit, which, he says, by an oversight had not been given to Mr Boswell.

'When Johnson was preparing his Dictionary,' runs this account, 'he one morning called at Lord Chesterfield's, either upon business, or to pay his compliments to a supposed patron. Some more fortunate visitor had preceded him in the levée, and engaged his lordship in conversation so long after Johnson's name had been announced, that at last our Lexicographer's patience became exhausted : he felt hurt by the fancied humiliation, and went away in a fret. On his way home, he dropped in at Mr Robert Dodsley's, the ingenious bookseller, and after rapidly thumbing over several new publications in his usual desultory manner, Mr Dodsley took notice of the agitation which his countenance strongly evinced ; and very kindly asked the cause. Johnson told him as above ; and Mr D. with his wonted urbanity suggested to him how likely it was that a nobleman, so celebrated for politeness, might be too much engaged at the time, to pay him the



attention which otherwise he certainly would have done. "Ah, Robin, Robin!" exclaimed our Socrates; "it won't do. My attentions to him have been unsparingly dealt out. I tell you I have all this while been only *gilding a rotten post*."'

It was commonly supposed that the gentleman occupied with Chesterfield at the time of Johnson's unfortunate call was Colley Cibber, the poet laureate and hero of the *Dunciad*. It does not seem, however, that Johnson's animosity to Chesterfield arose from any one incident, but from his continued neglect. There is a story that Chesterfield once gave him ten pounds, but beyond that he does not appear to have taken the smallest notice of the great work that was proceeding apace in Gough Square, until, quite suddenly, the magnitude and probable success of the scheme became clear to him. It was then that he wrote—anonymously—the two numbers in Dodsley's periodical *The World*, which aroused all the sturdy independence in Johnson's nature, and caused him to write what is probably the most famous letter in the language. And yet any man but Johnson might have welcomed such papers. They were written agreeably and with some little humour, and they were calculated to arouse at once widespread interest and admiration. Let not the courteous reader, writes Chesterfield, 'suspect me of being a hired and interested puff of the work,' for, he adds, 'I most solemnly protest, that neither Mr Johnson, nor any person employed by him, nor any . . . booksellers concerned in the success of it, have ever offered me the usual compliment of a

pair of gloves or a bottle of wine ; nor has even Mr Dodsley, though my publisher, and, as I am informed, deeply interested in the sale of this dictionary, so much as invited me to take a bit of mutton with him.' Johnson, however, could not forget Chesterfield's continued neglect, and in his letter, which was despatched some two months before the appearance of his dictionary, could not forbear to ask whether a patron was not 'one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help.'

It is doubtful whether Dodsley would have told Johnson who was the author of the two papers in *The World*, had he known that this letter would be sent, for the days of patronage were not then over, and Dodsley himself must have felt not a little sore about the matter. He did his best, however, to smooth things over. 'Dr Adams,' says Boswell, 'mentioned to Mr Robert Dodsley, that he was sorry Johnson had written his letter to Lord Chesterfield. Dodsley, with the true feelings of trade, said, "he was very sorry too ; for that he had a property in the Dictionary, to which his Lordship's patronage might have been of consequence." He then told Dr Adams that Lord Chesterfield had shown him the letter. "I should have imagined (replied Dr Adams) that Lord Chesterfield would have concealed it." "Poh ! (said Dodsley) ; do you think a letter from Johnson could hurt Lord Chesterfield ? Not at all, Sir. It lay upon his table where anybody might see it. He read it to me ; said 'this man has great powers,' pointed out the

severest passages, and observed how well they were expressed." This air of indifference, which imposed upon the worthy Dodsley, was certainly nothing but a specimen of that dissimulation which Lord Chesterfield inculcated as one of the most essential lessons for the conduct of life. . . . Dr Adams expostulated with Johnson, and suggested that his not being admitted when he called upon him, was probably not to be imputed to Lord Chesterfield: for his lordship had declared to Dodsley that "he would have turned off the best servant he ever had, if he had known that he had denied him to a man who would have been always more than welcome.'

The Dictionary was ultimately issued on April 15th, 1755, in two folio volumes.

In the meantime Dodsley had published other work of Johnson's. For his well-known *Preceptor*, issued in 1748, Johnson had contributed the preface, and a fairy story entitled *The Vision of Theodore*, which the author, according to Bishop Percy, thought was the finest thing he had ever written. Boswell describes the *Preceptor* as 'one of the most valuable books for the improvement of young minds,' and in point of fact it had a wide sale for many years. Dodsley had obtained a special licence for his book, his 'humble prayer' to the king having been successful on account of 'the great Expence and Trouble in procuring the several Parts of the Work,' which had been 'executed by Persons qualified to do them in the best Manner.'

Some months later—Jan. 9th, 1749 to be exact—he was publishing the second of Johnson's poems,

*The Vanity of Human Wishes*, an imitation of Juvenal's tenth Satire, composed, according to Boswell, during the previous year at Hampstead. For this Johnson received no more than fifteen guineas. Boswell gives the agreement, which, years later, James Dodsley allowed him to see.

'Nov. 25, 1748.—I received of Mr Dodsley fifteen guineas for which I assign to him the right of copy of an imitation of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal, written by me ; reserving to myself the right of printing one edition.

'SAM. JOHNSON.'

The same month saw also the production of Johnson's tragedy *Irene*. Garrick had become manager of Drury Lane Theatre, and took pleasure in producing his old master's play. *Irene*, however, was a very tragic tragedy, almost as tragic as Dodsley's own *Cleone*, and it was also painfully dull. For a long time it had lain at Garrick's house, but now by the manager's zeal ran nine nights—in order that its author might obtain his three benefits—and gave Johnson some of the money—£195—of which he stood in such need. Dodsley, moreover, was so confident of its success in book-form that he gave the author a hundred pounds. So long ago as 1741 Cave had written to the learned Dr Birch to the effect that he had placed *Irene* in Mr Gray's hands—this Gray was a London bookseller of no particular standing—but Gray would not purchase the copy. Neither, it seems, would anyone else. The tragedy, however, must have been shown to Dodsley, who advised his friend to wait,

and eight years later he was willing to give the author a remarkably large sum for the copyright. On the stage not even the warmest of Johnson's admirers could call the play a success—it was at the first night of this production that the dramatist, on being asked how he felt at the ill-success of his piece, replied 'like the Monument'—but Dodsley's shrewdness cannot have been at fault with the printed copy.

On New Year's Day, 1757, the first number of *The London Chronicle, or Universal Evening Post*, made its appearance. Boswell tells how Johnson did not disdain to accept a guinea from Dodsley, who was part proprietor, for writing the introduction. Dodsley himself, however, withdrew from this newspaper after the eleventh number, and for a reason which reflects no little credit upon him. In pursuit of the prevailing custom, several extracts of some length had been reprinted in it from the *Test* and other scurrilous papers of the kind. Dodsley objected to a feature which contradicted one of the aims of the paper, as set forth by Johnson in his introduction. He spoke to Strahan, the printer of the paper, bidding him explain to the editor, one Spens, his views. Strahan either forgot to do so, or, more probably, did not succeed in convincing him. Whereupon Dodsley in some anger demanded to know how Strahan himself could allow such things to continue. 'I was surpriz'd beyond expression,' he writes on Jan. 14th, 'after what I had desir'd you to say to Mr Spens, to see, in last night's Paper, a personal Invective of the most infamous & scurrilous kind. I suppose you



have not had an opportunity of seeing him. But I beg you will give my Compliments to him & let him know, that as my Name appears to y<sup>e</sup> Paper I think it is using me extreemly ill to make me answerable for such low scurrility as I not only detest but am asham'd of. If Mr Spens will put his name to y<sup>e</sup> Paper as its author I shall have the less cause of complaint: but if he will not he may be assur'd I will never suffer mine to give a sanction to such despicable stuff. How does Mr Spens know but that I am by his means disobliging & of course losing some of my best friends? And why is our Paper immediately to become y<sup>e</sup> vehicle of private scandal and low detraction? Does any paper of credit give into this dirty practice? The *Daily the Public Advertiser*; y<sup>e</sup> *General the Whitehall Evening Posts*; are they not all extreemly cautious of admitting personal abuse? And did not the *Evening Advertiser* destroy itself by these very measures? Besides, as our Plan is universally approv'd of, and as our Paper I can plainly perceive is likely to succeed prodigiously, have we not the strongest motives to avoid giving particular offence? And to suppose that we shall lessen the offence by impartially admitting abuse on both sides, is just as absurd as it would be, to expect, were two men quarreling under my window, & I should throw a stink-pot on both their heads, that either of them should look up and thank me for the favour. There is another thing which I must mention, and that is, that we give no just cause of complaint to y<sup>e</sup> Trade, either by taking the whole of any periodical Papers,



or by giving such large extracts of Pamphlets as may prevent their sale, and consequently instead of serving injure the Proprietors. As to y<sup>e</sup> *Tests, Contests* and all such Papers as deal in personal satire, we should certainly have nothing to do with them. And as to pamphlets, it is not only ungenerous but unjust to think of giving such large extracts as may be construed into a Piracy, and tend to prevent instead of encouraging, the sale. In order to obviate all these objections to our Paper I have drawn up an Advertisement, which I think should be prefixt for some nights successively, and am of the opinion that it will conduce to promote the sale of it. However as I am but a single person I desire you will take y<sup>e</sup> sense of the Partners on all I have said ; only assuring you that if y<sup>e</sup> Paper cannot be carry'd on without giving any of these causes of offence, I shall desire to dispose of my share, being determin'd not to sacrifice my character to other people's indiscretions, nor to any lucrative consideration whatsoever.'

Such a letter as this is very characteristic of the writer, and well shows upon what principles his career had been built up. The advertisement he enclosed was moderate in character, but neither Spens nor the partners, it would seem, would consent to omit the somewhat spicy extracts to which objection had been taken, and Dodsley had no option but to retire from the paper.

' PALL MALL Jan<sup>y</sup> 24 1757

' DEAR SIR,

' As I find a clamour is rais'd in the Trade, and that

Dear Sir

Pall mall Jan<sup>r</sup>. 24 1757

As I find a clamour is rais'd in  
the Trade, and that clamour is levell'd  
directly and particularly at me, I have  
determin'd to part with my share of the  
London Chronicle, which I hereby offer to  
the Partners, desiring no profit from it,  
tho' I think it in a very prosperous way, only  
a return of the money advanc'd. If the partners  
do not chuse it, I believe I can dispose of it  
I beg my compliments to all the partners, and  
heartily wish them success. I am

Dear Sir  
Your most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

You will be so good as to omit for  
the future y<sup>e</sup> Names of R and J Dodsley.

Dodsley

LETTER FROM ROBERT DODSLEY TO WILLIAM STRAHAN, THE  
PRINTER, RELINQUISHING HIS SHARE IN THE LONDON CHRONICLE

1757

(From the original in the author's possession)



clamour is levell'd directly and particularly at me, I have determin'd to part with my share of the *London Chronicle*, which I hereby offer to the Partners, desiring no profit from it, tho' I think it is in a very prosperous way, only a return of the mony advanc'd. If the partners do not chuse it, I believe I can dispose of it. I beg my compliments to all the partners, and heartily wish them success.—I am,

' Dear Sir,

' Your most obed Serv<sup>t</sup>

' RDODSLEY.'

' You will be so good as to omit for the future y<sup>e</sup> Names of R and J Dodsley.

' To M<sup>r</sup> Strahan

' Printer

' in

' New Street.'

Dodsley was right in his estimation of the paper's position, for the *London Chronicle* was continued for many years. Boswell relates that it was the only newspaper which Johnson constantly purchased—but, from that time, neither of the Dodsleys had any connection with it.

Dr Johnson's opinion of Dodsley's tragedy will be found in the chapter devoted to its production. Here it will only be necessary to add that Dodsley seems to have waited to publish the most famous of Johnson's minor writings before retiring from business in favour of his brother. On April 19th, 1759, he published *The Prince of Abissinia*, now better known as *Rasselas*, a

fairly tale which Johnson had written, so the story runs, to pay the expenses of his mother's funeral. For this piece Dodsley paid the author £100, but on the appearance of a second edition on June 26th of this year, gave him a further £25.

To have been instrumental in the publication of the two finest of Samuel Johnson's poems, to have set him at work upon the world-famous Dictionary, and to have waited at the *Tully's Head*, after his own great triumph as a dramatist, to watch over the appearance of *Rasselas*, together speak much for him. To have enjoyed the friendship of the most remarkable man of the century may be counted amongst the greatest of his privileges.

## CHAPTER VI

### DODSLEY'S BAND OF POETS AND THE COLLECTION OF POEMS

THE importance of Dodsley's well-known *Collection of Poems*, and the mass of correspondence, not a tithe of which has been published, relating to its publication, necessitates a somewhat more detailed treatment than has been given to Dodsley's earlier undertakings. Even were his *Old Plays* and his *Annual Register* to be forgotten, he would ever be remembered for his poetical miscellany. That he was successful with this precursor of the *Golden Treasury* is clearly shown by the repeated editions that were called for throughout the century. His design, as he tells us, was 'to preserve to the Public those poetical performances which seemed to merit a longer remembrance than what would probably be secured to them by the manner wherein they were originally published. This design was first suggested to the editor,' he continues, 'as it was afterwards conducted, by the opinions of some gentlemen, whose names it would do him the highest honour to mention.' He concludes his short preface with a philosophical expression of hope. He 'hath nothing further to premise,' he says, 'but that the reader must not expect to be pleased with every par-



ticular poem, which is here presented to him. It is impossible to furnish out an entertainment of this nature where every part shall be relished by every guest ; it will be sufficient if nothing is set before him but what has been approved by those of the most acknowledged taste.'

Much of its success, indeed, was due to Dodsley's personal friendships with the authors, and to their active assistance. Before its actual appearance, his project had become known in the fashionable world. The Countess of Shaftesbury had heard of it, for she wrote to James Harris, afterwards the first earl of Malmesbury, informing him that most of the poems which Dodsley proposed to include were by George Lyttelton and Gilbert West, 'with several pieces of theirs,' she says, 'never yet published.' The idea of issuing such a collection was, of course, by no means original—Dryden's *Miscellany* of fifty years before had achieved considerable success—but, like many other of Dodsley's undertakings, it seems to have occurred at the right time. His shrewdness, a quality which was recognised by Lord Byron nearly eighty years later, always stood him in good stead. At that time it was proposed to issue another such *Collection of Poems*, and Byron suggested that Hogg and John Murray 'might make out an alliance. Dodsley's,' he writes, 'was, I believe, the last decent thing of the kind, his had great success in its day, and lasted several years ; but then he had the double advantage of editing and publishing.' Such an advantage, however, also brought with it many disadvantages,

and, as will be seen, poor Dodsley was at times hard put to it to keep his temper with his scattered band of poets. Ten years passed before the *Collection* was complete. The first three volumes were published on Jan. 15th, 1748, a fourth on March 18th, 1755, and two final volumes in March, 1758.

## I

In a letter despatched to Dr Wharton on the last day of November 1747, Mr Gray draws his friend's attention to the forthcoming *Collection of Poems*. 'Dodsley,' he writes, 'is publishing three Miscellaneous Volumes [of verse]; some new, many that have already been printed. Lyttelton, Nugent, and G. West, have given him several Things of theirs. Mr W: [Walpole] has given him three Odes of mine, (w<sup>ch</sup> you have seen before) & one of Mr West's (my friend who is dead) w<sup>ch</sup> in spite of the Subject is excellent.' Mr Walpole, indeed, showed himself vastly interested in the new undertaking. Doubtless he had been introduced to Dodsley by Spence, who, it will be remembered, had been instrumental in saving his life abroad. Spence, too, exerted himself not a little in the choice of such poems as should be included, and one may suppose Dodsley presiding at sundry meetings at the *Tully's Head*, whilst the merit of various pieces came up for discussion. Of those already printed, over thirty were taken from the now extinct *Museum*. Others, one imagines, which Dodsley and his friends desired to include, were

unavallable, as being the property of other publishers, but a representative collection, a collection that would 'set' for ever the period, was gradually brought together, and by the beginning of the year, the printed sheets lay ready for the binders.

When they appeared, Walpole, who seems to have shown a fatherly interest in the Miscellany, lost no time in sending them to Gray, whom he justly regarded as one of the best judges in England. Mr Gray wrote from Cambridge to thank him, at the same time objecting to Dodsley's frontispiece of the three Graces—a none too pleasing engraving by Charles Moseley. 'I am obliged to you,' he writes, 'for Mr Dodsley's book, and having pretty well looked over it, will (as you desire) tell you my opinion of it. He might, methinks, have spared the graces in his frontispiece if he chose to be economical, and dressed the authors in a little more decent raiment—not in whited-brown paper, and distorted characters, like an old ballad. I am ashamed to see myself; but the company keeps me in countenance.' Walpole probably showed this letter to Dodsley, who removed the offending Graces, and substituted for them the allegorical vignette, which appears in all the succeeding editions.

Continuing, Gray writes: 'The *Schoolmistress* is excellent in its kind and masterly.' Mr Shenstone himself seems to have been as well satisfied as Gray with the collection, but he was annoyed to find that Dodsley had, without informing him, reprinted this poem in the first volume, with his name, and without such alterations as he had determined to make in a

second edition. 'I am afraid by your account,' he writes to a friend, 'that Dodsley has published my name to the *Schoolmistress*. I was a good deal displeased at his publishing that poem without my Knowledge, when he had so many opportunities of giving me some previous information ; but, as he would probably disregard my resentment '—it was not until 1750 that Dodsley and he became friends—' I chose to stifle it, and wrote him directly, upon the receipt of yours, that I would be glad to furnish him with an improved copy of the *Schoolmistress*, etc., for his second edition. He accepts it with some complaisance, desires it soon ; and I am at a fault to have the opinion of my friends, what alterations or additions it will be proper to insert.' Dodsley's letter, to which the poet referred, was dated March 24th. 'I am much oblig'd to You,' he writes, 'for offering me an improv'd Copy of the *School Mistress*, which I shall be glad of as soon as you please, but I could wish you would not spread the Notion of a new Edition, as that might in some measure retard the progress of This. If I should think of another Volume (which is not likely) I will not fail to let you know. In the meantime if you have a single Poem or so that you have a mind should accompany the *Schoolmistress*, I shall be glad to give it a place in y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> Edition, if it is not too long.' Dodsley, however, need have had no fear, for the *Collection* sold well, and he was able to put a second edition to press in a few months' time. On May 17th, he is writing again to Shenstone, and one cannot help comparing the stiff business-like note of this time

with the affectionate and almost rambling letters of a few years later.

‘SIR,

‘I have put the Poems to Press for a 2<sup>d</sup> Edition & shall be oblig’d to You for a corrected Copy. As to an additional Volume which I had some thoughts of, I find it will be impossible to furnish enough that will be good. However if you have a small Piece or two I will try to insert them.

‘I am, Sir,

‘Your most hum<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>,

‘RDODSLEY.’

The possibility of a second edition appearing in the near future led Mr Shenstone to the determination not to purchase the first, which he borrowed from his friend and neighbour Lady Luxborough, a half-sister of Bolingbroke, and herself a poetess, some of whose work appeared in Dodsley’s fourth volume. ‘As to Dodsley’s collection,’ he writes to this lady, ‘I find it is approv’d on all Hands. I shou’d have been better pleas’d with him if he had giv’n me previous notice e’er he published my *Schoolmistress* that I might have spruced her up a little before she appeared in so much Company. They tell me he purposes a second Edition, concerning w<sup>ch</sup> I have wrote to him : &, with a view to which I have declin’d y<sup>e</sup> Purchase of it in y<sup>e</sup> First : so that I have not seen it.’ The three volumes were sold for the modest sum of nine shillings, but the poet could not afford to spend very much upon his library, and the time had not come yet



when all the more interesting books which appeared from the *Tully's Head* were sent, 'bound and letter'd' to the Leasowes, as presents.

In this volume also are the *Town Eclogues* of Lady Mary Montagu, not then angry with Dodsley, although probably ignorant of their insertion. 'These eclogues,' says Walpole, in a note in his own copy of the *Collection*, 'Lady M. Wortley allowed me to transcribe from a volume of her poems in MS. at Florence in 1740, and from my copy Dodsley printed them and the *Epistle from A. Grey, The Lover*, and the *Epilogue*; and her ladyship told me all the persons alluded to. Bp. Warburton has printed the second eclogue as Pope's, who might correct or at least transcribe it; but it [is evident] that all are by the same hand and not by Pope.' It is doubtful, however, whether this statement of Walpole's is correct. One of Lady Mary's poems was subsequently suppressed—the epistle from Arthur Grey, the footman, to Lady Murray—possibly owing to the authoress's intervention. Many of Tickell's poems, too, are here reprinted as well as Johnson's *London* and Matthew Green's amusing piece *The Spleen*.

Walpole is warm in his praise of Green's poem. 'This,' he says, 'is as original a poem as ever was written. It has the wit of Butler with the ease of Prior without imitating either, and tho' so poetic all the images are taken from the streets of London.' Mr Gray too thought highly of Green, and thereby differed from Dr Johnson. Boswell records an anecdote in connection with this particular poem. One



day in 1762, Dodsley, he and Oliver Goldsmith were dining with Tom Davies, the bookseller, when Goldsmith 'asserted that there was no poetry produced in this age. Dodsley appealed to his own Collection,' continues Boswell, 'and maintained that though they could not find a palace like Dryden's *Ode on St Cecilia's Day*, you had villages composed of very pretty houses; and he mentioned particularly *The Spleen*.' Boswell afterwards recorded this conversation to Johnson, who thereupon remarked: 'I think Dodsley gave up the question. He and Goldsmith said the same thing; only he said it in a softer manner than Goldsmith did; for he acknowledged that there was no poetry, nothing that towered above the common mark. You may find wit and humour in verse, and yet no poetry, *Hudibras* has a profusion of these; yet it is not to be reckoned a poem. *The Spleen* in Dodsley's collection, on which you say he chiefly rested, is not poetry.' It is a little curious, perhaps, that Dodsley should have singled this poem out of many that were so obviously superior, but Boswell may have attached too much importance to what was in reality only a casual reference.

In this same volume Lord Chesterfield and Horace Walpole allowed a few verses of their own to be printed, and several of Collins's *Odes* were included in the second edition that appeared in January, 1749. Two other poems may be mentioned. These were *Grongar Hill* and *The Ruins of Rome*, both by John Dyer, a country clergyman, of whom Gray said that he had 'more of poetry in his imagination than almost any of our

number.' Dyer was probably introduced to Dodsley by Dr Akenside, and it was from the *Tully's Head* in 1757 that his extraordinary poem *The Fleece* was issued. Several of the poet's letters which mention this meritorious if dull poem have been preserved. It was entrusted in manuscript to Akenside, who showed it to Joseph Warton, then a schoolmaster at Winchester. Akenside held it in such high esteem that he was willing to risk his critical reputation upon its merits. Writing to the younger Duncombe on Nov. 24th, 1756, Dyer says : ' Your humble servant is become a deaf, a dull and languid creature ; who, however, in his poor change of constitution, being a little recompensed with the critics' phlegm, has made swift, by many blottings and corrections, and some help from his kind friend Dr Akenside, to give a sort of finishing to his *Fleece*, which is just sent up to Mr Dodsley ; but as people are so taken up with politics, and have so little inclination to read anything but satire and newspapers, I am in doubt whether this is a proper time for publishing it.' At the beginning of the new year the poem had gone to press. Great expectations seem to have been aroused, probably by Akenside's encomiums, and the poem was published on March 15th. ' I hope,' writes the author to Duncombe on May 9th, ' you have received a book of the *Fleece*. Mr Dodsley, I think, has performed his part well ; but in one or two places there have happened such alterations of the copy, as make me give my reader false precepts. . . . I will not trouble you with any . . . corrections, but I will Mr Dodsley, lest a second edition should

happen.' It is of interest to note that on several occasions Dodsley seems to have trusted his own judgment and sense of rhythm rather than the manuscript given to him for publication. That he was justified in such a course is open to question, but one may imagine him reading to a circle of friends the latest parcel to arrive, and then and there pencilling such alterations as seemed to please the company. Dyer wrote to Dodsley to point out one or two mistakes which may have arisen in this way. This was on May 12th. He was then at Coningsby, in wretched health. 'You should have had my thanks before,' he writes, 'for your very handsome publication of the *Fleece*, had I not flattered myself with a journey to town, and with seeing you; but very ill health still confines me, and I almost despair of the journey.' And then, after pointing out the most glaring of the few mistakes which had followed on Dodsley's unacquaintance with the methods of 'us graziers,' he goes on: 'I hope these remarks will be agreeable to you. If you are inclined to make use of them, or any others, which I may send you, be pleased to acquaint me. I have no frank, and am your debtor for postage.' The poor man was then on his death-bed, and there was no second edition of the *Fleece* for him to correct. He died in July of the following year. Completely forgotten now, he enjoyed a fair reputation in his day, and had a sonnet written to his memory by no less a poet than Wordsworth.

So much, then, for the first volume. The second is chiefly interesting from its inclusion of the three

*Odes* of Gray, which Walpole had taken to the *Tully's Head*. A third of the volume is taken up with Lyttelton's poems, much read in their day but now forgotten. There follow Isaac Hawkins Browne's *Pipe of Tobacco*, a most interesting and clever parody of several styles, verses by the two Wests, and several poems of William Whitehead.

Whitehead had come into prominence in 1741 by his *Danger of Writing Verse*, which was here reprinted. He became Fellow of Clare, and was at this time acting as tutor to Lord Jersey's son at Middleton Park. In 1754 Garrick, for whom he occasionally acted as literary adviser, produced his tragedy of *Creusa*. Shortly afterwards he went abroad with his pupil and Lord Nuneham. Whilst at Leipsic he heard from Dodsley that Garrick had revived his play, and replied at some length on April 1st, 1755.

'I am much obliged,' runs this letter, 'for your account of my play, tho' Mr Sanderson in some measure forestalled you. I still find the *Pythia* does not please; tho' she plays the part sensibly, yet every body tells me she seems to have no idea of the fury and vehemence of her character where she is to assume an air of inspiration. You will make my compliments to Mr Garrick & thank him for the revival. I told him if I met with any dancers that were tolerable I would let him know, but I have seen none at all that were worth his having. They talk of some at dresden, but as I was not there during the carnival I shall probably have no opportunity of seeing them. We shall leave this place the 5 or 6 may, & after having been at

dresden, Berlin, Brussels, Hanover, Gotha, Ratisbon, Munich, Vienna, & perhaps too the Courts on the Rhine, we are in hopes of reaching Italy in October or November. If I can be of any service to you there you must write to me immediately, if anywhere afterwards Mr Sanderson will give you directions, & I shall be glad to execute anything you desire. I send you enclosed an account of Dr Lowth's book in the *Acta Eruditorum* at Leipsic, which you will be so good as to transmit to him. . . . They talk kindly of him, but at the same time they seem to be his enemies, & therefore you must not believe at most above half what they say. I will speak to him myself the first opportunity. English books, tho' every body here almost reads English, take a good while before they make their way hither, they have sea, & a good deal of Country to pass. However, I am greatly pleased to find our Language grow almost universal. . . . I am obliged for your intention of sending the miscellanies but have very little expectation of receiving them, the methods of their getting here are so very dilatory & uncertain. You will make my compliments to all my friends you meet with, & if I can be of any service to them where I am they will oblige me by commanding it.'

On Whitehead's return to England, he found himself appointed Poet Laureate—Mr Gray having refused the honour—and became through Lady Jersey's interest Secretary and Register of the Order of the Bath. Dodsley published all his verse, and maintained a close friendship with him. A few other of his letters



to the publisher have been preserved; one, written when he had become poet-laureate, may be given:

'DEAR SR.

'Inclosed I return you the receipt, & am much obliged for the trouble you have had about it. I should have let it go on 'till the half year, had not they told me that they always chose to pay it quarterly. The deductions bring it down somewhere about nineteen pounds. I have no accounts with me in the Country, or I would tell you the exact sum, but Mr Adams will settle it all with you. I will send you the Ode [in Honour of the King's Birthday] in about a fortnight or less. Have you anything literary in prospect for this winter? The playhouses, I presume, are near opening. Are we to expect any novelties either in plays or actors? I had the pleasure of seeing your friend Mr Melmoth at Bristol this summer, but had much less opportunity of being in company with him than I could have wished. I have some thoughts of being in Town about the 1st of November whether I stay the birthday or not, & can then hear a rehearsal, if it should be necessary.

'I am, dear Sr.,

'Your most obedient

'Humble Servant,

'W. WHITEHEAD.

'MIDDLETON PARK,

'Sept. 2, 1758.'

If Whitehead came to London, he would have seen



Dodsley's own tragedy performed at Covent Garden, and found the reply to his question.

The third volume contains poems by Pope, Thompson, Spence, Christopher Pitt, who died a few weeks after the volume had appeared, William Mason, Gray's biographer, and Joseph Warton. The previous year Dodsley had published Mason's *Musæus: a Monody to the Memory of Mr Pope; in Imitation of Milton's Lycidas*, a poem which had had no small success. On May 31st of this year, Mason had written to him from Hull, demanding to know its fate. 'I fancy by this time,' he says, 'you can give me a full account of the fate of my *Monody*, and I wish much that you wou'd do so, for you know I told you how great a stress I shou'd lay upon your report because I believ'd it wou'd be a sincere one.' Mason was then only twenty-two years of age, and desirous of editing the lesser poems of Milton. 'I cou'd wish also,' he continues, 'to know whether Tonson or any other bookseller has a property in the 3rd vol. of Milton. I have often thought it a great pitty that many of the Beautiful Peices it contains shou'd be so little read as they certainly are, I fancy this has arisen from the bad thing they are tack'd to. I want vastly to have a seperate edition of the Tragedy, Mask, Lycidas & Lallagro, &c., but, if you think that it woud sell at present I wou'd willingly give you my assistance either for a preface or Notes or any thing that shou'd be thought necessary, & this merely for the sake of the incomparable Poet for whom I am not content with having considerd, & praised as the Author of

*Paradise Lost* alone.' However much Dodsley may have desired to print such an edition, Tonson held the copyright, and nothing could be done ; for a time, however, it would seem that he had intended to produce such a book, for later in the year, when Mason was writing again, he says : ' I shall not proceed in the Edition I mentioned to you till I see you in London & have your advice more fully about it, for I dont sufficiently understand your Properties &c. nor how you bargain in these cases.' Other work, however, demanded Mason's attention, and in Feb. 1749 Dodsley published his *Isis*. His *Monody* had gone into a third edition ; so likewise did *Isis*, and in a very short time. It was answered by Tom Warton, Joseph's younger brother. Later when Mason aspired to tragedy, his work still appeared from the *Tully's Head*, although after Robert Dodsley's death he quarrelled over a question of copyright with his brother.

The third volume ends fitly enough with one of Dodsley's own poems ; as it was the only one the editor thought worthy of inclusion, it may be given :

'THE CAVE OF POPE. A PROPHECY

When dark oblivion in her sable cloak  
 Shall wrap the names of heroes and of kings ;  
 And their high deeds, submitting to the stroke  
 Of time, shall fall amongst forgotten things :

Then (for the Muse that distant day shall see)  
 On Thames's bank the stranger shall arrive,  
 With curious wish thy sacred grott to see,  
 Thy sacred grott shall with thy name survive.

Grateful posterity, from age to age,  
With pious hand the ruin shall repair :  
Some good old man, to each enquiring sage  
Pointing the place, shall cry, " The Bard liv'd there,

Whose song was music to the list'ning ear,  
Yet taught audacious vice and folly, shame :  
Easy his manners, but his life severe ;  
His word alone gave infamy or fame.

Sequester'd from the fool and coxcomb-wit,  
Beneath this silent roof the Muse he found ;  
'Twas here he slept inspir'd, or sat and writ ;  
Here with his friends the social glass went round."

With awful veneration shall they trace  
The steps which thou so long before hast trod ;  
With reverend wonder view the solemn place,  
From whence thy genius soar'd to nature's God.

Then, some small gem, or moss, or shining ore,  
Departing, each shall pilfer, in fond hope  
To please their friends on every distant shore,  
Boasting a relic from the Cave of Pope.'

## II

And so, for the time, the great work was finished, but Dodsley was not satisfied. The necessary preparations were very great, as was the expense, but the collection, he thought, was not yet complete. So much other work, however, was on hand—he was projecting a long poem of his own, and writing a book of moral maxims—that five or six years passed before he could give his whole attention to its continuation. The time had already come when he was feeling the effects of hard work. He longed to be able to retire in peace into some hermitage, there to give his whole time to the composition of the poetry that meant so

much to him. He expresses some such desire in a letter which he wrote on Oct. 22nd, 1748, to Spence, then in retirement at Byfleet, which, as a 'show-place,' was once almost as famous as the Leasowes. 'While you are planting the Groves,' he writes from his office, 'directing the Walks and forming the Bowers that are in all probability to afford you a Retreat for the whole of your future Life; you seem like a man arriv'd at the end of his Labours, and first beginning to enjoy the fruits of them. If I did not love you I should certainly envy; but as it is, I heartily rejoice; and only wish I was with you to partake of the Pleasure, which I am sensible you must at present enjoy. But here am I, ty'd down to the World, immerst in Business, with very little Prospect of ever being able to disengage myself. 'Tis true, my Business is of such a nature, and so agreeable to the Turn of my Mind, that I have often very great Pleasure in the Pursuit of it. I don't know but I may sometimes be as entertain'd in planning a book, as you are in laying out the plan of a Garden. Yet I don't know how it is, I cannot help languishing after that Leisure which perhaps if it was in my possession I should not be able to enjoy. I am afraid the man who would truly relish and enjoy Retirement, must be previously furnished with a large and various stock of Ideas, which he must be capable of turning over in his own mind, of comparing, varying, and contemplating upon with pleasure; he must so thoroughly have seen the World as to cure him of being over fond of it; and he must have so much good sense and Virtue in his own Breast, as to prevent him from being

disgusted with his own Reflections or uneasy in his own Company. I am sorry to feel myself not so well qualify'd for this sacred Leisure as I could wish, in any one respect ; but glad I have a Friend from whose example I cannot but hope I shall be able to improve.'

It was only after the failure of his own unfinished epic upon Public Virtue in 1753 that he seriously set himself to the task of producing a fourth volume. By this time his acquaintance with Mr Shenstone had ripened into a warm friendship, and his letters become frequent and of considerable length. It is from this correspondence that the history of the fourth volume, of which so many pages are devoted to Shenstone's own poems, may be learned. During the summer of 1753, it seems, Dodsley had intended to visit the Leasowes but had been prevented by 'many avocations.' On Sept. 29th, he wrote to say that the visit must be postponed until the following year. 'I am now thinking,' he writes, 'of putting my Fourth Volume of Poems to Press, and shall esteem it as a particular Obligation if You will contribute to render it more acceptable to the Public, by favouring me with any thing which You shall think proper to appear in it. I have a copy of your Pastoral Ballad, but I think you told me you had a more correct one. Any time within a month will be soon enough for my purpose, and the larger your Packet y<sup>e</sup> greater will be the Obligation.' This letter by an oversight was addressed to Shenstone 'at the Leasows, near Stratford upon Avon, Warwickshire,' and arriving at that town was surcharged 'Noe such place neare



Stratford.' Dodsley's next letter, however, shows that it ultimately reached its destination. 'I receiv'd and read with great pleasure,' he writes, upon this occasion, 'your little poetical Packet, for which I think my self very much oblig'd to you, and shall wait with much impatience for your second. However, it will come time enough if it comes within a month or five Weeks. I don't know how I came to think your next Town was Stratford, unless it was because I used to direct Lady Luxborough so, and I thought the Leasows and Barrels had been very near each other. I like extreamly what you have sent me, but if you think proper I will shew them either to Sir George [Lyttelton], or Mr Wm. Lyttelton. Most of those which compose the three first volumes, were shewn to Sir George before they were inserted. I am much oblig'd to You for your readiness to contribute on this occasion, & shall endeavour all I can that y<sup>e</sup> fourth Volume may not disgrace the three former.' The second packet which Shenstone had promised duly arrived, and Dodsley immediately acknowledged it, but by that time he had found that immediate publication of the additional volume would be impossible. 'I believe I shall not print the Volume this Winter,' he writes on Jan. 12th, 1754, 'as it will be a Season in which scarce any thing will be thought of except Elections.' In thanking Shenstone for two more 'packets,' he expresses the opinion, a correct one as it turned out, that few of the pieces enclosed were Shenstone's own, and here, indeed, began a series of misunderstandings which led to re-



peated delays in publication, and worried the poet into positive illness. Shenstone explained his position in a letter to his friend Jago, dated Jan. 29th, 1754. 'Dodsley,' he wrote, 'pressed me to contribute, as amply as I pleased, to a fourth volume of his *Miscellanies*. I at first meant to do so pretty largely; I then changed my mind, and sent only some little pieces. Part of these were my own; part Mr Whistler's, Mr Graves's, and some accidental pieces of others, which I found in my bureau. I purposed to send something of yours too; of myself, if I was hurried; else, not without your consent. . . . Last week he writes me word, that the town will now be too much engrossed by the business of elections; and that he does not proceed this winter. So that we shall now, you see, have time to meet, or write upon the subject.' The poet, indeed, was a little sore at being hurried to no purpose, but he was well satisfied at a delay which would allow him as much time as he wished for correction. Dodsley duly paid his first visit to the Leasowes in the following summer, and there wrote the copy of verses on the poet's home which is generally included in Shenstone's works. He arrived sometime in August. On the sixth of that month Shenstone had written to a friend who was eager to find a publisher: 'Dodsley is the man for your purpose. He has, with good genius, a liberal turn of mind. I expect him to spend a few days here every week—I will, if he returns through Warwickshire, occasion him to call upon you; but you know he is often lame with the gout, and will hardly be able to make any long digression.' On the

15th he had not yet arrived, but must have reached the Leasowes within the next fortnight. It was his custom to take a midsummer journey through the midland counties, generally in company with Spence, and it is just possible that he paid several visits to his birthplace and its near neighbourhood. At the end of August he was back in London, and wrote to thank Shenstone for his hospitality. 'As I cannot forget the Pleasures I rec<sup>d</sup> at the Leasows, I ought not to neglect to thank you for them.' At the same time he added another request for Shenstone's *Pastoral*, 'and whatever else you think proper, as soon as convenient ; as I am now [Aug. 27th, 1754] printing the Volume with as much Expedition as I can, that it may be publish'd at the beginning of the Winter.' Repeated delays, however, followed. Dodsley had not long returned to London from the Leasowes before he found his wife in poor health. A journey to the sea was proposed, and with a party of friends, Dodsley and his wife went to Portsmouth. He was back in London at the end of the month, his wife apparently better, as in a letter to Joseph Warton, written from Pall Mall, on Sept. 29th, no mention is made of her illness.

'That I am an insufferably bad correspondent,' he writes on this occasion, 'all my friends with too much reason complain : and I am afraid I sometimes sin in this way beyond forgiveness. However, I have in my own mind made great resolution of amendment : and when one considers how delightful it is to talk to an absent friend, it is amazing how one can possibly

be guilty of the crime of neglect. But the practice of every virtue is delightful, and yet the world continues to be a wicked world : so true it is that man is a heap of contradictions. One good thing, however, attends this neglect of writing to one's friends too punctually, which is, that one sometimes gets almost to the bottom of the first page in making an apology. I was extremely sorry we could not spare time to call on you [at Winchester] on our return from Portsmouth ; our party was Mr Giffard and his wife, and I and mine ; and when women are in the way (don't let Mrs Warton see this) a man can never do what he ought. I prodigiously admire your character of Mr Bedingfield, who you say has actually refin'd his taste to a degree that makes him dissatisfy'd with almost every composition : don't you think then he is in almost the same situation with Horace's recover'd madman ? What are you doing ? and what is your Brother doing ? I hear he has laid aside all thoughts of *Apollonius* ; I think he is right : but I would never have him lie still. I am just going to put my fourth volume of poems to press, and wish he would send me a corrected copy of his *Pleasures of Melancholy* and *Triumph of Isis*. And have you nothing to send me ? Whitehead's play does not come on this winter, there is no room for it. Glover's *Boadicea* comes on in November. And Garrick is engag'd for a play of a Mr Crisp in February. I have never thought of mine since, and probably never shall. Let me first see what will be said to my *Agriculture*, which is now finish't, and will be published in November.'

Warton duly sent some pieces for the volume, but Dodsley, one imagines, could give little attention either to them or to anything else, for he was afflicted with a worse attack of the gout than ever before. He was advised to go to Bath, and accordingly left London early in October. Whilst he was away, further papers came from Shenstone, but James Dodsley opened the letter which accompanied them, and replied on Oct. 22nd.

‘SIR,

‘I receiv’d yours with the poem inclos’d. My Brother is at present at Bath. I expect him at home in about a fortnight. None of your poems are yet put to press nor will be till my Brother’s return, so that what you desire will be done. Whatever you shall think proper to send will be safe in y<sup>e</sup> hands of, Sir,

‘Your most obed<sup>t</sup>. Servt.,

‘JAMES DODSLEY.’

A week later Dodsley had hurriedly returned, possibly on account of his wife’s illness, and, in the intervals of pain and worry, found time to write to Shenstone to know whether he might prefix to Lady Luxborough’s verses the words ‘Written by a Lady.’ Mr Graves’s pieces, he said, had arrived, and he would be glad to have Shenstone’s own *Pastoral* as soon as possible. Part of this, it seems, had already been set to music by the celebrated Arne, but on receiving the completed poem Dodsley suggested that the whole

of its four parts might very well be set. Accordingly he wrote again on Nov. 19th.

‘ I rec<sup>d</sup> your excellent *Pastoral*, with which I am extremely pleas’d ; but don’t you think there is something too particular in the last part of it ? The Advice of Moschus—and Corydon’s changing his Disease—in y<sup>e</sup> 4 & 5 Stanzas I should like much to have them all set, to have it the last in the Book, & let y<sup>e</sup> Music close the Volume. Arne has a very good Taste for Ballads, if you can perswade him to set them ; & I should think it would be for his own Advantage, as I might sett them in his own Collections. But in this case you must stipulate with him that I shall have leave to engrave his Music in small Plates for my Volume. If you should not chuse to write to Arne, there is one Oswald with whom I am acquainted, who has a very pretty Taste for scotch airs ; I think I could prevail with him to set the four parts. And I think there is a tenderness in y<sup>e</sup> Scotch Airs that would suit the Words extreamly if happily set. As to the two questions you ask—I have printed above two thirds of the Volume, but am now standing still, being unwilling to proceed farther till I see the extent your pieces will go to, as I should be sorry to be oblig’d to leave any of them out. And as to Time, if you can let me have what you intend in about a fortnight or three weeks at most, it will do very well. But I should be glad to be determin’d the Music sooner, as it is to be compos’d, engrav’d and worked off. I cannot send any part of your Poems to press till I have the whole.’



Shenstone seems to have relished the idea of having the whole poem set to music, and lost no time in writing to Arne, not then Doctor of Music, but well known as the composer of *Rule Britannia* and as a graceful song-writer. A reply reached him in a few days.

‘ Nov.-y<sup>e</sup>-30-1754.

‘ Sr,

‘ By the hands of Mr Dodsley, I receiv’d your very obliging Letter, and wou’d, for my own Pleasure comply with your Request, but Mr Dodsley’s Interest in this Particular interferes with mine ; for if he prints my Music in his Publication, I shall lose the Sale of it to Mr Walsh (the King’s Music-Printer) who gives me 20 Guineas for every Collection I compose, consisting of Eight or nine Songs, and who wou’d not give a Shilling for any Thing that another had first publish’d. Of this I acquainted Mr Dodsley, who did not seem inclin’d to make any Gratuity for the Loss. Any Song, Cantata or Dramatic Piece from so delicate a Pen, whereby I shou’d not considerably lose to promote another’s gain, wou’d be the most welcome Present I could receive, stamp an additional Reputation on my Music, and highly oblige—Sr—

‘ Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>,

‘ THO<sup>s</sup>. AU<sup>NE</sup>. ARNE.

‘ CHARLES STREET, COVENT GARDEN.’

Dodsley also wrote on the same day to explain his position. He had been with Arne, he said, but found that the composer would expect six guineas for setting



the other three parts. He would be obliged, moreover, to treat with Mr Walsh to make use of the first part. He therefore proposed that Mr Oswald should be allowed to set the poem, and if the result was not to Shenstone's liking, the music could be altogether omitted. Shenstone did not reply—he was ill, and just then Dodsley's wife died, all suddenly it would seem, and he was unable to attend to any business at all. He wrote to Shenstone again on Dec. 16th.

'DEAR SIR,

'I have impatiently expected a Letter every Post last Week, but having not receiv'd any, begin to fear it must have miscarry'd. You will see perhaps by the Papers that I have suffer'd the Misfortune of losing my Wife, 'tis on that Account that I have been for some weeks in so unhappy a Situation as not to be able to attend to Business at all. I hope You rec<sup>d</sup> mine relating to Mr Arne and Mr Oswald. I should be extreamly glad if what you intend to favour me with might be sent in a post or two, as I should be glad to publish the beginning of January.

'I am, Dear Sir,

'Your most oblig'd & obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>,

'RDODSLEY.'

'You know,' wrote Johnson to Warton (Dec. 21st, 1754), 'poor Mr Dodsley has lost his wife; I believe he is much affected. I hope he will not suffer as much as I yet suffer for the loss of mine.' Beyond these two isolated references there is no further mention of the once adored Kitty. Dodsley's private affliction,

however, could not be allowed to interfere with the publication of the fourth volume, and so he resolutely set to work. He wrote again to Shenstone on the last day of the year. The music of the first part had been engraved, but Shenstone's remaining packet was still to come. 'Pray,' he writes in considerable perturbation, 'if you have anything more to favour me with, let it come by the return of the Post, as I shall otherwise be in danger of losing the best part of the season for Publication.' But Shenstone was not a man who could be hurried, and he seems to have felt his position rather keenly. He had certainly led Dodsley to believe that he might rely upon him for rather more work than had actually been forthcoming, and the bookseller's very frequent letters added to his discomfort. Under the impression that the fourth volume would have been issued some months before this date, the harassed poet had accepted the responsibility for the verses of several of his friends, thereby involving himself in further misunderstandings. Writing to Jago on Jan. 22nd, 1755, he says: 'If at any time my head grew a little less confused than ordinary, I was obliged to devote my attention to the affair in which I had so foolishly involved myself with Dodsley. You are unable to conceive what vexation it has given me; I could not endure to disappoint him: of consequence it has been my lot to study the delicacies of poetry when my brain was not sufficient to indite a piece of common prose.' He then hopes that his friend has not been offended at the liberties he was obliged to take owing to Dodsley's hurry, but pleads

that the publisher is 'a person of taste himself,' that he has 'many learned friends to assist him,' and that his interest is concerned in the perfection of his miscellany. Jago was not offended, but went to town to see Dodsley. Shenstone, however, was still disturbed. 'After all,' he writes, 'I am but indifferently satisfied with the present state of these contributions. Dodsley writes just so much as he deems necessary in the way of business, and passes by a thousand points in my letters which deserve an answer.' He then mentioned Dodsley's last letter, which he had received on Jan. 16th.

'DEAR SIR,

'I receiv'd your final Packet, and am much oblig'd to you for all the trouble you have so kindly taken on this occasion. I have spent this whole day amongst your Papers & those of your friends, & have put them as nearly in the order you desire as I can. I hope to send you prooff sheets of the whole of them before next week is out, which I beg you will correct & send back by the return of the Post. I have impertinently attempted to alter one Stanza of Lady Luxborough's, which pray restore to its original reading if you like it better. The Ballad in y<sup>e</sup> scottish Taste I have omitted. And one of the songs which you would have kept out (*y<sup>e</sup> Lady's Visit*) I have put in. But you will order that as you please. *Nancy of y<sup>e</sup> Vale* you never sent.

'I am, Dear Sir,

'Your most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>,

'RDODSLEY.'

The next letter affords the information that the three first volumes were out of print, but would be ready in a month. 'I am in some pain,' he adds, 'for those different readings which you left so imprudently to my determination : but I have done as well as I could, & have generally thought it the best way to follow where you seem'd to point.' He wonders, too, whether Lady Luxborough would think it impertinent of him to send her a sett, and finishes up : 'I am in a perpetual hurry & scarce know what I write.' Little wonder, indeed, for it must be remembered that Mr Shenstone was not the only poet with whom a regular correspondence had to be maintained. Shenstone replied to this letter on March 4th.

'DEAR SIR,

'I return you many thanks for the Compliment you make my Friends and Me in the offer of a sett of miscellanies. I dare say L<sup>y</sup> Luxborough will take it well to be included in it. My Expectation of seeing the last volume advertis'd, was the reason I have not made you this acknowledgment before.

'The Delay has given me some Pain ; not thro' the least Impatience of seeing my Trifles made publick ; for I am really fearfull of the appearance, & could wish a longer time to adjust the state of my contributions. But this very Wish makes me reflect upon the time that has elaps'd since I wrote to you : & of which, I trust, I could have avail'd myself to your satisfaction & my own. I suppose that the Impression must now be taken off ; if otherwise, & that for any particular

Reason you have chosen it should be deferd, I should be glad that you would afford me y<sup>e</sup> earliest Intelligence.

‘ I am ever faithfully

‘ & affectionately yours,

‘ WILL: SHENSTONE.’

The book, however, had been printed off, and in a week or two a copy duly arrived at the Leasowes. Shenstone wrote at the end of the month to acknowledge it.

‘ THE LEASOWES, *March the 23, 1755.*

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I had the Pleasure of receiving the fourth volume of your miscellanies, which arriv’d as I remember last thursday was sen’ night. I am oblig’d to you for the care you took to forward it when printed, as well as for all that Trouble I occasion’d you, before. Some Improvements may be made in a subsequent Impression : & whenever this is propos’d, I dare say you will give me notice. In general, you have done all that I could expect from a Person of Genius and a Friend.

‘ It remains for me to wish that the Book may fully recompense you, I will not only say, for the Pains you have taken, but for the Discernment you have shewn. It contains many excellent pieces, that are entirely new to me : & if others that are no less excellent have been printed before, it cannot reasonably be objected by such as consider your first Design. . . . Should the Parliament sit till June, I have some thoughts of printing my ode upon *Rural Elegance* ;





*Photo.*

*Emery Walker*

WILLIAM SHENSTONE

*From the picture by Edward Alcock, now in the National Portrait Gallery*





together with some such other Pieces, as may make a 12 penny pamphlett—But if my Purpose continues you will hear from me again soon, & I shall send you up a copy about half-correct, for your Opinion. . . . I long to hear from you on all accounts, & am your most affectionate

‘ & most obedient Servant,

‘ WILL. SHENSTONE.’

A letter from Dodsley crossed his own. Mr Shenstone was informed that his poems ‘are very much approv’d of, by several people, particularly by Dr Akinside, who desir’d that I would give you his Complim<sup>ts</sup> and thanks for the pleasure you had given him in reading them. I am very glad,’ he adds, ‘to find that my favourite, the *Pastoral Ballad*, is universally admir’d. I wish I had the *Lass of the Vale*, whom you once mention’d : I dare say she is a beautiful and accomplish’d, tho’ rural, Girl ; and I therefore wonder how you can be so cruel to lock her up from the world. But I will take care to get it insinuated to her that I intend to fit up another Apartment, when I hope she will prevail with you to permit her with some of her companions to pay me a visit.’ So early as this, then, it would seem that Dodsley did not intend his fourth volume to be the last.

One more letter to Shenstone, which deals with this much delayed volume, may be given :

‘ PALL MALL, *May 3, 1755.*

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I rec<sup>d</sup> the favour of your last Packet, which

gave me great pleasure, and should have been answer'd immediately had I not waited for another, which you gave me some hopes to expect by the following Post. I am extreamly flatter'd with the Honour which my Lady Luxborough does me, in so politely accepting the trivial Acknowledgment of her favour. But how can her Ladyship talk of being vain of the Post of Honour, as she calls it, which I have assign'd her in my Assembly of Wits? Does she not know that she is qualify'd by Genius as well as by Birth, to keep the best Company, and to shine in the brightest? If she is ignorant of this, she is ignorant of what every body else both knows and allows; and affords an eminent proof how difficult it is to know one's self. I am asham'd that I have not sent before now a Copy of the Poems for Lord Grey, which her Ladyship seems to hint might be agreeable. I had forgot it, but will send two by the next Birmingham coach, as you may possibly have some other friend to whom a Casket, however mean, which contains some Jewels of your own, may be acceptable.

'How extreamly am I also oblig'd to Mr Hylton? But for God's sake, how is it that You and your friends contrive, when you have done one a favour, to make one believe you have receiv'd an Obligation? This is an Imposition not to be borne; a treatment which it is very difficult properly to resent. Is it not horridly provoking to be put into a Situation, in which one knows not how to behave, nor what to say? However, I beg You will be so good as to let one of your Servants convey the enclos'd, with my best Compli-

ments to Mr Hylton ; I believe he is your neighbour, & I hope it will not give you much trouble.

‘ What is become of your *Ode on Rural Elegance* ? I was in hopes to have seen it before this time : but I suppose it must now for some months suffer a severe and causeless Persecution under your hands, for faults which nobody but your self could accuse it of. I am strongly tempted to come *vi et armis*, and rescue it from your Cruelty. But I suppose you will pretend, like other Inquisitors, that You chastise and correct it for the good of its Soul. Well, You are its Creator, and must do what you please ; but I dare say it is already, by its Goodness, in a state of Salvation, and if You would set it at liberty, would immediately enter into a glorious Immortality.

‘ I am, Dear Sir,

‘ most truly Yours,

‘ RDODSLEY.’

Shenstone apparently enjoyed these letters of Dodsley's, but discountenanced the various flattering observations they so often contained. Writing to Graves in the following month, he says : ‘ I will enclose the last two letters I received from Mr Dodsley ; but you must not think I build too much upon any compliment which he there makes me. It is true, I think him a very sincere man ; but he cannot have been conversant so long with modern writers, but he must conjecture, when their piece is published, that they a little hunger for applause.’ His *Rural Elegance*, he adds, about which Dodsley from this time expressed

so much concern, would stand over for the present, as he had performed his promise to Dodsley, and had now earned the right to give all his attention to his garden.

In the meantime everything had not gone off quite smoothly at the *Tully's Head*. Certain poems by the celebrated Lord Hervey, who had died in 1743, had been published in the volume, when Dodsley received peremptory orders to cancel them. Tom Warton, in a letter to his brother, dated April 19th, 1755, mentions this fact. 'Dodsley,' he says, 'it seems, had actually published the fourth volume with Hervey's poem, and had sold several copies with it in; upon which, being threatened with a messenger, he cancelled it in the remaining copies.' Which poem is referred to does not appear, but he must have been annoyed at this new delay.

This volume, which Walpole considered 'the worst tome of the four,' is now most interesting perhaps from its inclusion of Gray's *Elegy Wrote in a Country Churchyard* and his *Hymn to Adversity*; both of these, however, are treated of in some detail in the next chapter. Another contributor was Joseph Warton, who was to increase his reputation in the following April by the publication of his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*. Mrs Cooper's name appeared as the ostensible publisher of this book, but Dodsley supervised its appearance. His name was omitted from the title-page for a reason which may be found in a letter he wrote to Warton on April 8th, 1756.

' DEAR SIR,

' Your Essay is publish'd, the price 5s. bound. I gave Mrs Cooper directions about advertising, and have sent to her this afternoon to desire she will look after its being inserted in the evening papers. I have a pleasure in telling you it is lik'd in general, and particularly by such as you would wish should like it. But you have surely not kept your secret ; Johnson mention'd it to Mr Hitch as yours—Dr Birch mention'd it to Garrick as yours—And Dr Akenside mention'd it as yours to me—And many whom I cannot now think on have ask'd for it as yours or your brother's. I have sold many of them in my own shop, and have dispers'd and push'd it as much as I can ; and have said more than I could have said if my name had been to it. Hampton's *Polybius* is very highly spoken of here ; and if one may judge from the preface (which is all I can pretend to judge of) deserves all that can be said of it. I hope Winchester agrees with you in all respects, as it will always give me pleasure to hear of your health and happiness. My compliments to Mrs Warton : and believe me to be, with great sincerity,

' Dear Sir,

' affectionately yours,

' RDODSLEY.'

Other contributors to this volume were Collins, Johnson, Garrick, Bubb Dodington, Tom Warton, Mason, Voltaire, Sir C. Hanbury Williams, Sir William Blackstone, Edward Moore, the younger Duncombe,



Somerville, Dr Grainger, and Shenstone's various friends.

### III

The first actual mention of a further two volumes occurs in the postscript to a letter from Dodsley to Shenstone, dated April 17th, 1756. Here he says: 'I certainly intend to publish two concluding Volumes to my *Miscellany* next Winter, if I can get materials sufficient, and such as are to my mind; in which I hope for your assistance. There will not be a new Edition of the last, perhaps, just at that time, but I fancy it will not be long after.' The succeeding letters deal more especially with Dodsley's own tragedy, and may here be passed over, but in a note dated Dec. 13th of this year, he is writing for Shenstone's long promised *Odes* and *Elegies*, as he proposes to put the poems to press early in the Spring, 'and yours,' he adds, 'must be the very first things I begin with.' Akenside, he explains, forbears to give him anything until the sixth volume shall be printed, in order, as Dodsley slyly insinuates, 'to see how You begin the 5th.' March, however, had come, and Mr Shenstone had sent nothing. He was doing his best to help Dodsley with the all-important tragedy, and, apparently, had time for little else. Then a further delay occurred, owing to an Ode of Dodsley's own composition—when Shenstone's help was again requisitioned—and few of the letters of this period mention the *Miscellany*. July came, and no welcome packet had made its

appearance. Dodsley wrote on the thirteenth to know what was ready. 'I hope a large packet,' he says; 'if not, pray give my Compliments to Mrs Cutler, and tell her I trust (if she has any regard for your fame and honour) that I shall so far corrupt her honesty as to induce her to join with me in robbing your Bureau of every scrap of poetry in it. But I hope I shall have no occasion to proceed to these extremities.' He paid his usual summer visit to the Leasowes in the following month, and seems to have taken away with him some of the poems, and on his return to London in September, four sheets were immediately printed off. 'The Printer,' he writes on this occasion, 'says he shall be able to keep the Press standing of these four sheets; till you can send them back, which is a great convenience to me, as it permits me to go on with the rest. As You have so much time, I have sent no proof to Mr Graves, because I thought you might possibly make some corrections, & would rather chuse to send your own proofs to him. I have shew'd Dr Akenside your Elegy; he is prodigiously struck with it, & hopes you will some time before 'tis long, let the public enjoy the pleasure of the whole Collection.' More than three months passed, but Shenstone did not hurry himself, and Dodsley was obliged to write again for his four sheets. Trouble, it seemed, was impending.

'PALL MALL, *Oct.* 29, 1757.

'DEAR SIR,

'I was in hopes by this time to have some if

not all of the sheets return'd which I sent for your correction, & which keep a great quantity of the Printer's Letter lock'd up, much to his inconvenience and disadvantage. As I have now very nearly finish'd both the Volumes, I beg you will be so good as to let me have them with all possible expedition. I have this day receiv'd a Letter from Mr Jago which gives me great uneasiness, as I have printed off all his pieces, & he seems desirous to have had the proof sheets that he might have corrected them himself. I shall be very sorry that by your willingness to oblige me, you should disoblige him. And yet, as they are quite printed off, it is now impossible he should correct them, unless I cancel the two sheets in which they are contain'd ; to do which would cost me ten or twelve pounds. I will send him to-night the pages which contain his Poems, & tell him, if he finds any material errors, that I will insert them in a list of Errata at y<sup>e</sup> end of the Volume. I should be extreamly sorry to disoblige any of your friends on this occasion. I had a letter from Mr Giles a post or two ago, in which he told me you desir'd two or three proofs of your Grove, which I have here enclos'd. Where is Mr Hylton's Indian Eclogue ? Is he gone thither to learn their manners ? If not, pray give my Compliments to him, & bid him make haste or he will come too late. I believe I shall go with Mr Spence into the north next Sūmer, & we intend to call on You for a day or two in our way. I imagine y<sup>e</sup> *Rural Elegance* will give you most trouble in correcting : if therefore you can dispatch any of the other sheets first, it will be very

agreeable to the Printer as it will set some of his Letter at liberty.

‘ I am, Dear Sir,

‘ ever affectionately yours,

‘ RDODSLEY.’

It will be seen that the editor of a collection of poems had no light task. The poet at the Leasowes would not correct his proofs, and his friend was, somewhat naturally, it must be admitted, inclined to take offence at not receiving proofs of his own contributions. Dodsley, as usual, did his best to smooth matters over, and in the case of Jago, wrote at some length. It gave him great concern, he admits in a letter dated Oct. 29th, 1757, to perceive ‘ that you are not altogether pleas’d with Mr Shenstone’s having given me some of your pieces without first consulting You about them. I acknowledge y<sup>e</sup> reasonableness of what You urge, & believe it was more indolence in him that he did not write to You, for I know he intended it. And it gives me the more uneasiness, as I have entirely work’d off the sheets in which they are inserted. However, I hope You will find them printed correctly, & quite to your mind : or if there should be any material alterations which You would have made, I will insert them in the Errata at the end of the volume. I beg you will believe that nothing was farther from my thoughts than y<sup>e</sup> intent of disobliging a Gentleman of your character, and from whom I had before receiv’d such agreeable favours : & be assur’d that in the next Edition which I will not

print without acquainting You, I shall be very ready to make whatever alterations you may think proper.'

Others, however, were not so dilatory as Shenstone, and help was coming in from many quarters. In October of this year, John Hoadly, a son of the Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of that diocese, wrote to Dodsley at some length, and his letter well illustrates the pains the editor was at to bring his collection to a successful conclusion.

'SIR,

'First with regard to my own Things; I know of no Property, either Mr Russell, y<sup>e</sup> Printer, or his Brother (as I was told y<sup>e</sup> Gentleman was who applied to me for the Copy) has in y<sup>e</sup> Translation of y<sup>e</sup> Muscipula. I only permitted him to print it as Mr H[ogarth] had spoken of it so handsomely in a Letter, & approv'd of it more than any other Translation; tho' I think I collected six upon that occasion before I sat down to work upon it. Whether You will preface it with any Thing to that effect, you are to judge. I think, it w<sup>d</sup> not be amiss.

'The Verses under Mr H[ogarth]'s Prints have been much admir'd by y<sup>e</sup> best Judges; but being put under y<sup>e</sup> Plates in detach'd Pieces, were never thoroughly understood as one compleat Poem. The References to y<sup>e</sup> Plates may be plac'd either at y<sup>e</sup> bottom of y<sup>e</sup> Page, or on y<sup>e</sup> Sides. At y<sup>e</sup> End of them I have given you a List of y<sup>e</sup> Rest in y<sup>e</sup> Order in which I w<sup>d</sup> have them plac'd & number'd them accordingly. They are



plac'd in that Order, & will be easily understood, at one View.

' Mr Berenger has been with me this last Week, & has tempted me, against my opinion, to send you a few most excellent Copies of Mr Straight ; particularly one to me, when I was a youngster at y<sup>e</sup> Temple, design'd for the Study of y<sup>e</sup> Law ; & another upon y<sup>e</sup> Change of my Resolution to that of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel. . Both these are as good in their Kind as can be writt, & I would have You begin my Pieces with them, as they are number'd ; tho' I may expose myself a little by my Letter to Him on the Delay of his Promise.

' *The Bird of Passage* is better as a Poem than as a Ballad & I desire it may be inserted, & in that shape.

' The Epil. & Prol. that follow have been so often copied out and lik'd, that I was easily persuaded to add them to the Number. The Epitaph you may do as you like with.

' I send you also y<sup>e</sup> best of a greater Number of Epigrams from Martial, address'd to Mr Harris of Salisbury. Whether you print 'em all, or whatever Number of them, let 'em begin & end with those to Mr Harris. I wou'd beg that no Name be printed at length ; only initial Letters.

' You mention'd to me Mr Taylor's Copy of Verses on the *Dropsical Man* ; but as y<sup>e</sup> Joke is old, & too tediously told, I chose to omit that, & have sent you some much better ; particularly y<sup>e</sup> two first, full of Wit and true Humour. The rest are excellent in their way, particularly No. 22, 23, 24, 25—which I wonder you cou'd put a Negative upon.



‘ If you can possibly make Room for y<sup>e</sup> whole Collection, as they stand, I shou’d be glad ; as y<sup>e</sup> Authors were my particular Friends, & shou’d be well supported on each side. The others, which you return’d into my Hands, are either not so worthy of Publication, or improper so soon after my poor Brother’s Death : else You sh<sup>d</sup> be wellcome to Them.

‘ You may add Mr H.’s Fragment of Chaucer after Mr Taylor’s Pieces, and I hope y<sup>e</sup> whole will answer to You both in Reputation and Profit.

‘ If hereafter you may think of another Volume, I may supply You with some Curiosities ; as, a few of L<sup>d</sup> Hervey—English Pieces of Tony Alsop, quite unknown of George Stubbs—&c., &c.

‘ I am, Sir,

‘ Your very humble Servant,

‘ J. HOADLY.’

‘ ST MARIES, Oct. 18, 1757.’

Hoadly’s brother, Benjamin, mentioned in this letter, had died on August 10th of this year. He was well known as the author of a very successful comedy, *The Suspicious Husband*, and some of his work had appeared in Dodsley’s third volume. The publisher replied to ‘ the Rev. Mr Chancellor Hoadly,’ on October 26th.

‘ SIR,

‘ I rec<sup>d</sup> your excellent Packet of Poetry, for which I am much oblig’d to You & return you my thanks. I will print the whole of it in the order which you

have decided, only omitting one or two of Martial's Epigrams, & y<sup>e</sup> Verses on Mr Hogarth's *Rake's Progress*, which I think will be improper, on account of their having been at the bottom of his Prints, and as they will not be perfectly understood by any reader who has not the prints before him to show the particulars to which the lines refer, & this is the opinion of others as well as my own. Mr Taylor's *Dropsical Man* is already printed. Any thing of Lord Hervey's I should be very glad of ; a Dialogue of his between Atticus & Eugenio I have. And if you have any pieces that are perfectly good, either by him or others, I would strive to make room for them, as I shall certainly close the Miscellany with these two Volumes. To extend it farther would make both the collection & the price too large. I am much oblig'd to Mr Berenger for prevailing with you to send me Mr Straight's Pieces. If he is still with you I beg my compliments. You talk'd of correcting the *Mouse-trap* ; if you have any Alterations I beg You will be so good as to favour me with them by y<sup>e</sup> first opportunity, as I have already sent them to y<sup>e</sup> Printer.'

The verses on Hogarth's Pictures, nevertheless, were printed in the fifth volume. Probably Hoadly persisted. He seems in addition to have sent no less than ten manuscript volumes of poetry for Dodsley to choose from ; these were acknowledged in a letter dated Dec. 5th, 1757. The editor, then hard at work on his tragedy, had at length found time to read right through them, but found that he already had many of the pieces. The volumes, he hoped, would be

finished before Christmas, and if Mr Berenger were at Winchester, he begged his compliments. Mr Richard Berenger was well-known for his powers of horsemanship—he was the author of a book on the subject—but he was also a poet, and three of his poems were appearing in the sixth volume of the *Miscellany*. One of the most interesting of Dodsley's letters was addressed to him, and may here be given :

‘ Jan. 10, 1758.

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I receiv'd your agreeable Letter and Present, which were both very acceptable, and demand my best acknowledgments and thanks. You judged extreamly well, or rather were inspir'd with a prophetic spirit, when you imagin'd the society of Wits and choice spirits might be very numerous at *Tully's Head* ; for the day after I heard from you, I had no less than a round dozen of them din'd with me. The two Mr Wartons, Mr Spence, Mr Burke,<sup>1</sup> Mr Cooper,<sup>2</sup> Mr Langton,<sup>3</sup> Mr Gataker,<sup>4</sup> Mr Bedingfield, and Mr Garrick were of the party, when your health went round, & much regret was exprest that You were not with us. But as no Happiness on earth is perfect ; ours was not so for want of you. But I hope it will not be long before you visit again y<sup>e</sup> purlieus of St James.

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Burke.

<sup>2</sup> John Gilbert Cooper, a voluminous writer.

<sup>3</sup> Bennet Langton, Johnson's friend.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Gataker, surgeon of Charing Cross Hospital. (See chap. x.)

'Haste thee, haste, & bring with thee  
Jest and youthful jollity—  
Sport that wrinkled Care derides,  
And laughter holding both his sides.'

For what should you do in the country? You, who are made for society—the Soul of social mirth. You who can delight a circle of polish'd friends, what should you do amongst Clowns and Rustics. Besides it is not now the Season

'When the mower whets his scythe  
And the milkmaid singeth blithe,  
Nor can you now tell amorous tales  
Under the hawthorne in the dales.'

Come to Town, therefore, if not for our sakes at least for your own. The Piazzas of Covent Garden afford in January a better shelter than any Grove in Christendom; and what are now your mossy banks and purling streams in the Country, to a sparkling bowl & a downy bed at the Hummums? Your Naiads, your Dryads & your Hamadryads are enough to starve a man to death; but with y<sup>e</sup> Nymphs of Drury you may be as warm as your heart can wish—and warmer too: And will not these comfortable considerations invite you to Town?

'Joe Warton tells me he wrote to You by the last Post, & I should have written sooner, but I have been in one perpetual hurry for this last fortnight, feasting & rioting noon & night at home and abroad; as if I had set the Gout at defiance, or had totally forgotten the last seven months confinement. But I must return to my milk and my sober senses, and bid adieu to y<sup>e</sup> jovial cups of mirth & social pleasure, at the

bottom of which Prudence, twiching me by y<sup>e</sup> sleeve, points to Crutches and cloath shoes. I am much oblig'd to you for your concluding kind wishes, and in return, may all your own, in whatever relates to your self, be crowned with success! & may your own heart still dance to that mirth which your good humour always gives to others.'

It is interesting to note with what ease Dodsley adapts himself to his correspondents. Berenger was a small poet, it is true, but he was primarily a *bon viveur*—Dr Johnson spoke of him as 'the standard of ideal elegance,' and it is a little curious to find him on such friendly terms with Dodsley. It is a pity that more letters of this nature have not been preserved, but at least this example helps to explain Dodsley's almost universal popularity in London. He was an honest, upright man, with a fund of good humour, in love with books, but also—so far as his gout would permit—in love with the good things of life.

Another contributor who tasted of Dodsley's hospitality about this time was Thomas Percy, afterwards Bishop of Dromore, and well-known as the editor of the *Reliques*, in the compilation of which, be it said, Shenstone's assistance seems to have been completely overlooked. One or two of Percy's poems had gone to the Leasowes for correction, and on their return the author wrote (Nov. 24th, 1757) from Pall Mall in acknowledgment. 'By Mr Dodsley,' he says, 'I rec<sup>d</sup> the favour of your Corrections of the



Rhymes you were so good as to look over : to your Pen they are now indebted for Beauties they were not before possessed of. You will, notwithstanding (I flatter myself), make allowances for the foolish Fondness of Scribblers, if you sh<sup>d</sup> find I have now and then ventur'd to retain the old Reading, in Defiance of your superior judgment. I doubt not but Mr Dodsley looks upon me as an obstinate perverse Being for resisting Conviction in any one Instance, tho' in most places I have submitted to be improved. I breakfasted with him this morning, when we gave ourselves the final Perusal to the Elegy & Song, and felicitated ourselves that we knew Mr Shenstone.'

Much further correspondence passed between Dodsley and Shenstone before the corrected sheets arrived, and when they did reach Pall Mall it was found that the various corrections and erasures had left some space still to be filled, and then when most of the difficulties had been overcome, Dodsley was astounded to hear that his friend proposed to omit a certain poem called *Jessy*, and, in fact, absolutely prohibited its publication. 'God grant me patience !' he writes on learning the news, 'but you cannot be in earnest ! What, rob me of the most beautiful piece in y<sup>e</sup> Collection ! What I have boasted of to everybody, shewn to several, and what all have admir'd. Dr Akenside says it is the most charming Elegy in any Language.' Five days later he is writing once again, this time to acknowledge some further poems, and still hoping that Shenstone will change his mind. The letter is interesting as it gives some idea of the



very large sum Dodsley was risking over the Collection.

‘ PALL MALL, *Jan.* 21, [1758].

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I have just receiv’d a letter from You which I perceive was written before You receiv’d my last. I find you have enabled me to fill Sheet C, without the help of *Jessy*; but I hope what I said in my last, will induce you to revoke her doom. I could add to these reasons many others. I really look upon it as the most striking Poem in the whole Collection. I think it will do You more credit than any other of your Pieces. It will certainly do no disservice to y<sup>e</sup> Collection of Elegies, but may be inserted amongst them whenever they appear, and will in the mean time most strongly recommend them to y<sup>e</sup> Curiosity of the Public. Besides, so many more have heard of it, and in short, such an expectation has been rais’d about it, that to be disappointed of it, will be very mortifying, and may do mischief. Many more reasons might [be] urged for her present appearance, all to whom I have mention’d it cry out against you for the thought of suppressing it: so pray by the next post give us the satisfaction of hearing that she is to appear. I have a thousand things to say, but am seiz’d with the Gout, hand and foot, & write in great pain. . . . Pray send the *Rural Elegance*, & let me finish, for I shall now be in great trouble & anxiety which accompany’d with pain is too much. The Season is wasting, and I have between 6 and 7 hundred pounds bury’d in the Paper & print of this Edition, which I want to pay and can

not till I publish. I fear it is impossible You should read or understand what I have writ.

‘ I am ever,

‘ most affectionately Yours,

‘ RDODSLEY.’

*Jessy*, however, was not sent to Pall Mall, and seems only to have been published as the last of the Elegies, when Dodsley himself was editing Shenstone's works in 1763. But the correcting of the proofs was finished, and on Feb. 2nd, Dodsley is able heartily to congratulate his friend on having ‘ got thro’ the disagreeable business. ‘ But for God's sake,’ he adds, ‘ do not make me blush with talking of my Patience, when I am holding up my hands in admiration of yours ! If you have forgiven me all my teasing impertinences what a fund of good nature you must have ! A Wife could not have been a greater plague to You than I have been for some time past.’ And then, he continues, there is the tragic imprisonment of *Jessy*. ‘ Poor *Jessy* ! But I will not, I dare not tease you any more about her.’ The next letter, dated March 15th, brings this part of the correspondence to a close. ‘ I sent,’ writes Dodsley, with, one imagines, heartfelt relief, ‘ by Trimen's Waggon on Monday, Carriage paid, a compleat Sett of the Poems.’

Shenstone, however, was far from satisfied with the last two volumes, and he rather reflects the general opinion ; they were hardly so good as the others. Gray, too, was hardly pleased. He had received a sett ‘ gilt and letter'd ’ from Dodsley, for which he was

grateful, but he could not help saying that 'the last two volumes' were 'worse than the four first; particularly Dr Akenside is in a deplorable way.' Nor did Shenstone's work, which took up some seventy pages of the fifth volume, please him. 'He goes hopping along his own gravel walks, and never deviates from the beaten paths for fear of being lost.' By far the most disgusted contributor, however, was Lady Mary Montagu, whose lines to Sir William Yonge had been inserted without her knowledge. To her daughter she complained bitterly of Dodsley's 'impudence.' 'I wrote extempore,' she tells Lady Bute, 'on the back of the song some stanzas that went perfectly well to the tune. She promised they should never appear as mine, and faithfully kept her word. By what accident they have fallen into the hands of that thing Dodsley I know not, but he has printed them as addressed, by me, to the last man I should have addressed them to, and my own words as his answer. I do not believe either Job or Socrates ever had such a provocation.' A month later she is writing again on the same subject. 'I have now been two posts without answering yours, having my head too muddled to write (don't laugh at me if you can help it); but it really has been occasion'd by the vexation arising from the impudence of Dodsley, whom I never saw, & never mentioned or thought of in my life.'

Others besides Lady Mary, who contributed in these last two volumes, were Henry Fielding, Dr Hawkesworth of *Adventurer* fame and a friend of Dodsley's, Akenside, Soame Jenyns, and Richard

Owen Cambridge, the author of that curious poem, *The Scribleriad* which Dodsley had published a few years before.

And so after ten years, during which there had been repeated delays and not a little friction, the great *Collection of Poems* was brought to a close, and Dodsley rested from his labours. It must have been with considerable pride that he penned the postscript at the end of the sixth volume. 'From the loose and fugitive pieces, some printed, others in manuscript,' he says there, 'which for forty or fifty years past have been thrown into the world, and carelessly left to perish ; I have here, according to the most judicious opinions I could obtain in distinguishing their merits, endeavour'd to select and preserve the best.' It was indeed a fine achievement, and has been fittingly enshrined in a little-known poem of George Keate :

' It happen'd once, but when, or where,  
It matters not a single hair,  
The father of a numerous race  
Dispers'd in many a distant place,  
Unwilling that they more should roam  
Felt a desire to call them home.'

This, continues the poet, he does, and, after examining their various merits :

' Resolv'd a spacious house to build,  
And have it with his children fill'd,  
That they, like birds of the same feather,  
Might all return, and dwell together.  
The size was fix'd, the plan was laid,  
And Dodsley supervisor made ;  
For Dodsley long was us'd to be  
Fac totum in the family :

Knew each child's merits to a tittle,  
Had nursed them all when they were little,  
Had brought them forward one by one,  
Nay taught them too alone to run :  
His heart accustom'd long to feel  
Their int'rests with the warmest zeal,  
He like a steady faithful servant  
Was in this business mighty fervent.'

' "What joy," he cries, "from all disasters  
To see safe home my dear young masters !  
I call them young, for twenty years  
When past, as yesterday, appears !  
They'll find me older grown, no doubt,  
But Tully's head will mark me out." '

And so the children come, and take up their abode in  
the new house, and hear that for the future they are to  
live together. A General Meeting is held at which

' Dodsley stept in with eager pace,  
Presented them his well-known face,  
And still his honest zeal expressing,  
Gave each his welcome, and his blessing.'

## CHAPTER VII

DODSLEY, GRAY AND HORACE WALPOLE

**O**N May 20th, 1747, an anonymous folio pamphlet of eight pages was issued from the *Tully's Head*. It bore the title of *An Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College*, and was the first published work of Thomas Gray. The poem came into Dodsley's hands through Walpole, with two other Odes by the Cambridge poet, and was given him for his *Collection of Poems*, in the publication of which Walpole, as we have seen, interested himself. It was decided, however, that the Eton Ode should be published separately. The reason is not far to seek. Dodsley, knowing the prevailing taste, had refused Collins's Odes, although he had accepted, and made a success of, the far less important, if more conventional, poems of Joseph Warton; and, although he was eager at a little later period for Shenstone's Elegies, he was not now sure of the reception of such 'new' poetry. Accordingly, the Eton Ode was published alone as an experiment, and Dodsley was probably hardly surprised at its complete failure. In a matter of this sort he was too good a tradesman to allow his private opinion of the Ode to have undue weight. To educate the public up to



new trends of thought, to remove the absurd necessity for a false classicism, might have appealed to his imagination—it probably did—but there was his business to think of, and although he made the experiment with the Eton Ode, the two others which Walpole had given him remained unprinted until the appearance of his Miscellany. Gray himself seems to have been rather surprised that the first Ode should have been issued alone. Writing to Walpole in November of this year, he says: ‘As to my Eton Ode, Mr Dodsley is *padrone*. The second (*On the Spring*) you had, I suppose you do not think worth giving him: otherwise, to me it seems not worse than the former. He might have Selima (*On the Death of a Favourite Cat*) too, unless she be of too little importance for his patriot-collection.’ The failure of the Eton Ode must have deterred Dodsley from giving separate publication to the other two, but it is curious to note in what a short time Gray’s poetry became popular throughout the country.

Walpole himself must have known the publisher for some years—in 1742 he had bracketed his name with those of Glover and Thompson as poets—and from a letter to Sir Horace Mann, dated March 15th, 1744, it would seem that Dodsley had become his regular bookseller. ‘I have enclosed a proposal from my bookseller,’ he writes upon this occasion, ‘to the undertaker of the *Museum Florentinum*, or the Concerners of it, as the papers call them; but it was expressed in such wonderfully battered English, that it was impossible for Dodsley or me to be sure of the

meaning of it. He is a fashionable author, and though that is no sign of perspicuity, I hope more intelligible !' There is, however, no further mention of him in the Walpole correspondence of this period.

Gray had no further relations with Dodsley until early in 1751, when he was obliged to publish his world-famous *Elegy* with all possible speed. The circumstances are well-known, though the details have often been misstated. The elegy had been finished in the summer of 1750, and a copy was sent immediately to Walpole, whose enthusiasm 'let him to commit the grave indiscretion of handing it about from friend to friend, and even distributing copies of it, without Gray's cognizance.'<sup>1</sup> One of these made its way into the office of a literary periodical, but lately started under no very grand auspices by one of the minor booksellers. On Feb. 10th, 1751, Gray quite unexpectedly received information, couched in politely-impertinent terms, from the 'Society of Gentlemen' who were editing this *Magazine of Magazines*, as it was called, that they had received a copy of 'an ingenious poem, called *Reflections in a Country Church-yard*,' which they proposed forthwith to print. The identity, then, of the 'excellent author' had already been discovered—Walpole, it would seem had taken no pains to preserve its anonymity—and they begged 'not only his indulgence, but the honour of his correspondence.' Whereupon Gray wrote in high indignation to Walpole. 'As I am not at all disposed,' he declares, 'to be either so indulgent, or so correspondent,

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Gray*, Gosse, p. 100.

as they desire, I have but one bad way left to escape the honour they would inflict upon me ; and therefore am obliged to desire you would make Dodsley print it immediately (which may be done in less than a week's time) from your copy, but without my name, in what form is most convenient for him, but on his best paper and character ; he must correct the press himself, and print it without any interval between the stanzas, because the sense is in some places continued beyond them ; and the title must be,—*Elegy written in a Country Church-yard*. If he would add a line or two to say it came into his hands by accident, I should like it better. If you hold the *Magazine of Magazines* in the light that I do, you will not refuse to give yourself this trouble on my account, which you have taken of your own accord before now. If Dodsley do not do this immediately, he may as well let it alone.'

And so it fell to Dodsley's lot, not only to be the first to publish the most famous poem of the century, but also to correct the proofs of it. Walpole lost no time in carrying out his friend's request, and his copy was despatched at once to the *Tully's Head*. The *Elegy* was sent immediately to press, but Owen, the proprietor of the *Magazine of Magazines*, seems to have learned that Dodsley proposed to forestall him, and likewise hurried his own number through the press. His magazine usually appeared during the last few days of the month, but on this occasion it came out on the 16th, a fact of which none of Gray's biographers seem to be aware. It was not soon enough,

however, for Dodsley had only the day before issued the poem as a quarto pamphlet. There had been a race, and Dodsley won by a bare twenty-four hours, and so it was on Feb. 15th, not the 16th, as has often been stated, that the *Elegy* actually made its first public appearance.

Walpole, as requested, wrote, or caused Dodsley to write, a few lines of advertisement, for which Gray returned thanks in a letter dated 'Ash Wednesday.' 'You have indeed conducted with great decency,' he writes, 'my little misfortune. . . . Nurse Dodsley has given it a pinch or two in the cradle, that I doubt it will bear the marks of as long as it lives. But no matter: we have ourselves suffered under his hands before now.' In another letter he is detailing the pinches. 'I do not expect any more editions'; he writes with his usual modesty, 'as I have appeared in more magazines than one. The chief errata were *sacred* bower for *secret* [a mistake which frequently recurs in later editions], *hidden* for *kindred* . . . and *frowning* as in scorn, for *smiling*. I humbly propose, for the benefit of Mr Dodsley and his matrons, that take awake for a verb, that they should read asleep, and all will be right.' Corrections were made—in which connection it is amusing to note, that when Owen's Magazine mentioned the elegy in its March list of publications, it somewhat sarcastically drew attention to the fact that the pamphlet had been printed from a very imperfect copy, though a correct one had appeared in its own columns—and the poem sold so well that in a month 'a third Edition, cor-

rected,' was being advertised (Mar. 14th). A fourth appeared on April 7th, Gray himself came up to town, and then probably for the first time met Dodsley.

Dodsley himself had only followed instructions in printing the *Elegy* anonymously, and he continued so to do until 1753, although Owen had described it as the work of 'the very ingenious Mr Gray of Peterhouse,' and no great time had elapsed before the authorship was universally known. Its success was immediate and lasting. Nearly all the magazines printed it; pirated copies were innumerable, and parodies almost as frequent as those which followed upon the publication of *Tristram Shandy*. Gray summarized the authorized editions through which it passed in a note attached to the manuscript of the *Elegy* now in Pembroke College.

'publish'd in Febr<sup>y</sup> 1751, and went thro' four editions, in two months; and afterwards a fifth, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, & 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, & 11<sup>th</sup>; printed also in 1753 with Mr Bentley's Designs, of w<sup>ch</sup> there is a 2<sup>nd</sup> edition; & again by Dodsley in his *Miscellany*, vol. 4, & in a scotch Collection call'd the *Union*. translated into Latin by Chr. Anstey, Esq., and the Rev. Mr Roberts, & publish'd in 1762 & again in the same year by Rob<sup>t</sup>. Lloyd, M.A.'

'The success of his poem, however,' says Mr Gosse, 'brought him little direct satisfaction, and no money. He gave the right of publication to Dodsley, as he did in all other instances. He held a Quixotic notion that it was beneath a gentleman to take money for his inventions from a bookseller, a view in which Dodsley



warmly coincided; and it was stated by another bookseller [John Murray] who, after Gray's death, contended with Mason that Dodsley was known to have made nearly a thousand pounds by the poetry of Gray.'

The edition just mentioned 'with Mr Bentley's Designs,' was also published by Dodsley, and Walpole as usual busied himself with the issue. His friend, the younger Richard Bentley, a son of the famous Master of Trinity, was an artist, and Walpole seems to have suggested to Gray that his six Odes should be published in one volume with illustrations by Bentley. Dodsley was naturally eager, but seems to have objected not only to the price proposed—half a guinea—but also to the word *Ode*—one of the six poems being the *Long Story*. 'I do not wonder at Dodsley,' writes Gray in reply to a letter from Walpole on the point; 'You have talked to him of six Odes, for so you are pleased to call everything I write, though it be but a receipt to make apple-dumplings. He has reason to gulp when he finds one of them only a long story.' The volume, it seems, had already been printed off, but Dodsley was still doubtful about the price, and he therefore suggested that an engraving should be taken from Walpole's picture of Mr Gray—by Eckhardt—to make a frontispiece. This was a common enough practice at the time, and Dodsley thought that it would help to make purchasers believe that they were getting full value for their money. Accordingly Eckhardt's picture was sent down from Strawberry Hill, and an engraving made, and sent to the poet.

To see his own portrait, however, at the head of his poems was the last thing that the sensitive Gray could think of allowing. 'Sure you are out of your wits!' he writes to Walpole (Jan. 1753). 'This I know, if you suffer my head to be printed, you will infallibly put me out of mine. I conjure you immediately to put a stop to any such design. Who is at the expence of engraving it, I know not; but if it be Dodsley, I will make up the loss to him. The thing as it was, I know, will make me ridiculous enough; but to appear at the head of my works consisting of half a dozen ballads in thirty pages, would be worse than the pillory. . . . I am extremely in earnest, and cannot bear even the idea. I had written to Dodsley,' he continues, 'if I had not received yours, to tell him how little I liked the title which he meant to prefix, but your letter has put all that out of my head.' Walpole, possibly a little ashamed, replies on Feb. 20th. After apologising for the haste in which his former letter has been composed, he continues: 'I had not seen Dodsley, consequently could only tell you that I did not doubt that he would have no objection to satisfy you with regard to the title, as you was willing to prevent him being a loser by the plate. . . . How the bookseller would be a loser by being at more expence, I can easily explain to you. He feared the price of half a guinea would seem too high to most purchasers. If by the expence of ten guineas more he could make the book appear so much more rich and showy as to induce people to think it cheap, the profits from selling many more copies would amply

recompence him for the additional reimbursement. The thought of having the head engraved was entirely Dodsley's own, and against my opinion, as I concluded it would be against yours ; which made me determine to acquaint you with it before its appearance. . . . The head, I give up. The title I think will be wrong, and not answer your purpose ; for, as the drawings are evidently calculated for the poems, why will the improper disposition of the word designs before poems make the edition less yours ? ' The title, indeed, seems to have caused everyone some trouble. Gray had already written to Dodsley on the point before he had received Walpole's letter, promising that the offending head should be omitted. Fortunately this has been preserved :

' CAMBRIDGE, *February 12th*, 1753.

' SIR,

' I am not at all satisfied with the title. To have it conceived that I publish a Collection of Poems, and half a dozen little matters (four of which too have already been printed again and again) thus pompously adorned would make me appear very justly ridiculous. I desire it may be understood (which is the truth) that the verses are only subordinate and explanatory to the Drawings, and suffered by me to come out thus only for that reason : therefore if you yourself prefixed this title, I desire it may be altered. Or, if Mr W[alpole] : ordered it so, that you would tell him why I wish it were changed in the manner I mentioned to you at first, or to that purpose. For the more I

consider it, the less I can bear it, as it now stands. I even think there is an uncommon sort of simplicity that looks like affectation, in putting our plain Christian and surnames without a Mr before them. But this (if it signifies anything) I easily give up, the other I cannot. You need not apprehend that this change in the title will be any prejudice to the sale of the book. A showy title-page may serve to sell a pamphlet of a shilling or two ; but this is not of a price for chance customers, whose eye is caught in passing by a window, and could never sell but from the notion the town may entertain of the merit of the drawings, which they will be instructed in by some that understand such things.

‘ I thank you for the offer you make me, but I shall be content with the three copies, two of which you will send me, and keep the third till I acquaint you where to send it. If you will let me know the exact day they will come out a little beforehand, I will give you a direction. You will remember to send two copies to Dr Thomas Wharton, M.D., at Durham. Perhaps you may have burnt my letter, so I will again put down the title—“ Designs by Mr Rd Bentley for six poems of Mr T. Gray.”

‘ I am, Sir, your humble servant,

‘ T. G.’

It is not difficult to understand Dodsley's desire to make the drawings, good as they might be, subordinate to the poems, but he had, of course, no option

in the matter, and the volume appeared on March 29th, with the title as Mr Gray wished.

Even more fearful of publicity than Shenstone, Gray suffered some years to pass before he allowed any more work of his to be printed, and even then two single odes represented its sum total. These were the *Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard*. The first of these had been mentioned by Gray in a letter to Walpole so long before as 1753, when he had written: 'I don't know, but I may send him [Dodsley] very soon (by your hands) an Ode to his own tooth, a high Pindaric upon stilts, which one must be a better scholar than he is to understand a line of,<sup>1</sup> and the very best scholars will understand but a little matter here and there.' Nothing further, however, is heard of it until March 9th, 1755, when in a letter to Wharton, Mr Gray answers his friend's query about further publications. 'If you are so loth to publish your productions,' he says, 'you cannot wonder at the repugnance I feel in spreading abroad mine, but in truth I am not so much against publishing this [*The Progress of Poesy*] alone. I have two or three ideas more in my head. What is to come of them? Must they too come out in the shape of little sixpenny flams, dropping one after another till Mr Dodsley thinks fit to collect them with Mr this's song, and Mr t'other's epigram, into a pretty Volume?' And so Gray waited two further years, but, finding that he had nothing further of enough value to let the public read, decided that another 'flam' would

<sup>1</sup> Gray had no very high opinion of Dodsley's literary abilities but admired his Ode *Melpomene*. See Chap. X.



have to appear. Accordingly he came to London with his two Odes, and went to Dodsley's shop. This was in June, 1757. An agreement was speedily arrived at, and Gray broke his rule of accepting no money, by relinquishing the copyright for forty guineas. He wrote out a receipt :

‘ June 29th, 1757.

‘ Rec<sup>d</sup> of Mr Dodsley the Sum of forty Guineas in consideration of which I do assign to the s<sup>d</sup> Mr Dodsley his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns, all my right & property in my two Odes the one intituled *The Powers (sic) of Poetry*, y<sup>e</sup> other *The Bard* only reserving to myself the right of reprinting them in any one Edition I may hereafter print of my Works.

‘ THOMAS GRAY.’

The receipt, one imagines, had hardly been signed, when Mr Horace Walpole sauntered into the *Tully's Head*, greeted his friend and Dodsley, asked their business, and on being shown the two Odes, astonished them by saying that he would like to print them himself, at the new press which he had but a few days before installed at Strawberry Hill. Both poet and publisher indeed, must have been considerably surprised—at that time the private press was almost if not quite unknown—but Dodsley was the very man to whom such an idea would have appealed. He had always taken the keenest interest in the printing of the books that bore his name, and, knowing Walpole's taste, must have felt fairly certain that good work would be turned out. Also, there would be no printer's

bill to pay. Gray, however, did not like the scheme, but the enthusiastic Walpole would not be gainsaid, and he then and there 'snatched' the Odes out of Dodsley's hands and bore them to Twickenham. It was understood that he was to print them for Dodsley in the ordinary way, though one cannot suppose that he was paid for his trouble, and there the matter ended. Mr Gray went back to Cambridge puzzled, and perhaps annoyed. On July 25th, one finds him informing a friend of the forthcoming 'poetical cargo,' but at the same time expressing doubts as to the date of publication, as Mr Walpole has but one hand to help him, and two thousand copies are to be struck off. For his part, Walpole was mightily pleased with his new toy. In this month he writes to Chute: 'On Monday next the *Officina Arbuteana* opens in form. The Stationer's Company, that is, Mr Dodsley, Mr Tonson, &c., are summoned to meet here on Sunday night. And with what do you think we open? *Cedite, Romani Impressores*—with nothing under *Gravii Carmina*. I found him [Gray] in town last week: he had brought his two odes to be printed. I snatched them out of Dodsley's hands, and they are to be the firstfruits of my press.' And so Dodsley went up to Twickenham, and inspected the press—it was not the first of its kind to which he had given his attention—and waited in patience until the odes should be printed. He had to wait for some little time, and Gray seems to have become impatient. He writes to Mason on August 1st. 'They had been out three weeks ago, but Mr Walpole . . . was so earnest to

hansel it [his press] with this new pamphlet, that it was impossible to find a pretence for refusing such a trifle. You will dislike this as much as I do, but there is no help ; you understand, it is he that prints them, not for me, but for Dodsley.' A week later, however, Dodsley had received the sheets, and on the eighth of the month, issued them as a shilling quarto pamphlet. This was the last transaction between Dodsley and Gray. When further work was ready to be printed, Dodsley had been some years in his grave.

Walpole's interest in Dodsley's publication *The World* will appear in another chapter. The second edition of his *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors* appeared from the *Tully's Head* in 1759, and he seems to have been genuinely attached to its master. His good offices were sought, and given, in 1758, when John Brown behaved so badly to the publisher. Brown had lately come into prominence over the publication of his *Estimate of the Times*, a second part of which appeared this year. Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, but lately home from abroad, proposed to write a *Reply*, which Dodsley was to publish. Brown, who had occasional fits of madness, during which his behaviour resembled that of the typical bargee, feared personalities. The facts which followed are described by Walpole in a letter to George Montagu, dated May 4th, 1758.

'The history,' he writes, 'promised you of Dr Brown is this. Sir Charles [Hanbury] Williams, had written an answer to his first silly volume of the *Estimate*, chiefly before he came over, but finished while he was

confined at Kensington. Brown had lately lodged in the same house, not mad now, though he has been so formerly. The landlady told Sir Charles, and offered to make affidavit that Dr Brown was the most profane curser and swearer that ever came to the house. . . . Well—in a great apprehension of Sir Charles divulging the story of his swearing, Brown went to Dodsley in a most scurrilous and hectoring manner, threatening Dodsley if he should publish anything personal against him ; abusing Sir Charles for a coward and a most abandoned man, and bidding Dodsley tell the latter that he had a cousin in the army who would call Sir Charles to account, for any reflections on him, Brown. Stay ; this Christian message from a divine, who, by the way has a chapter in his book against duelling, is not all : Dodsley refused to carry any such message, unless in writing. The Doctor enough in his senses to know the consequence of this, refused ; and at last a short verbal message, more decently worded, was agreed on. To this Sir Charles made Dodsley write down this answer : “ that he could not but be surprised at Brown’s message, after that he, Sir Charles, had at Ranby’s desire sent Brown a written assurance that he intended to say nothing personal of him—nay, nor should yet, unless Brown’s impertinence made it necessary.” This proper reply Dodsley sent : Brown wrote back, that he should send an answer to Sir Charles himself ; but bid Dodsley take notice, that printing the works of a supposed lunatic might be imputed to the printer himself, and which he, the said Doctor, should *chastise*. Dodsley, after notifying

this new and unprovoked insolence, to me, Fox, and Garrick, the one, friend of Sir Charles, the other of Brown, returned a very proper, decent, yet firm answer, with assurances of repaying chastisement of any sort. Is it credible? this audacious man sent only a card back, saying, "Footman's language I never return, J. Brown." You know how decent, humble, in-offensive a creature Dodsley is; how little apt to forget or disguise his having been a footman: but there is no exaggerating this behaviour by reflections. On the same card he tells Dodsley that he cannot now accept, but returns his present of the last two volumes of his Collection of Poems, and assures him that they are not soiled by the reading.'

There was no possible excuse for Brown's behaviour. He was not at that time mad, although he died by his own hand in a fit of frenzy in 1766. It is a pity that Dodsley's letters, written on this occasion, have been lost, but it was something that he could appeal in his dilemma to such men as Henry Fox, David Garrick, and Horace Walpole.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE OECONOMY OF HUMAN LIFE

**I**N 1769 people were asking themselves who the author of the letters of Junius might be, and Junius has maintained his anonymity to the present day. His letters form the most important, but not the only, literary enigma of the century. In Nov. 1750, there appeared a small book of maxims under the title of *The Oeconomy of Human Life*, which rapidly, and, indeed, deservedly, took its place amongst the most important productions of the time. It was just such a collection of moral aphorisms as could easily be understood and appreciated by even the most illiterate, couched in language reminiscent of the Bible—a dignified utterance of a then novel type, and sufficiently non-controversial to be acceptable to all sects. It must be admitted, however, that whereas the letters of Junius were read as much for the truth and bitterness of their accusations as from mere curiosity as to the author's identity, the *Oeconomy of Human Life*, at the moment of its appearance, enjoyed a wider popularity than might otherwise have been accorded it, from the fact that it was attributed to Lord Chesterfield's pen. It 'long received the most extravagant applause,' writes Dr Kippis, 'from

the supposition that it was written by a celebrated nobleman—an instance of the power of literary fashion,' but he might have added that it continued its prosperous run long after people had ceased to believe that Chesterfield was really the author. The book itself professed to have been 'translated from an Indian Manuscript, written by an Ancient Bramin,' and was prefaced by an introductory letter, 'written by an English Gentleman now residing in China, to the Earl of ——,' which contained an 'Account of the Manner in which the said Manuscript was discover'd.' Lord Chesterfield's name seems to have been mentioned in connection with its authorship even before the actual publication on Nov. 16th, but additional interest was immediately aroused owing to the appearance—oddly enough from the same publishing house—of a spurious 'second part,' purporting to be by the same author, although issued in the teeth of repeated advertisements, inserted by the real author in the newspapers, which maintained the direct contrary. The book had an enormous sale, and rapidly reached a seventh edition, when it began to be understood that Dodsley, who had published every edition after the first, was himself the author. Somewhat uncharitably, though not unnaturally, it was said that Dodsley had fostered the idea that Lord Chesterfield was the real author for purposes of sale, and, indeed, a review in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Nov. 1750, had not hesitated to say that the book in question was 'being industrially attributed to a noble E., distinguished by his fine genius, and

the elegance of his writings and speeches.' There is nothing to show that Dodsley's too zealous friends, did not use such means to further the sales, but that he himself was responsible is hardly likely. In any case, the subsequent editions in the eighteenth century, and the many reprints which appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth, nearly all bear his name as the author. At a still later date, however, doubts were again entertained about the authorship, and a writer in *Notes and Queries* for 1858, ascribed the book to Lord Chesterfield, mainly, it would seem, because, so far as is known, Chesterfield had never actually denied the authorship, and Mr Tedder in his article on Dodsley in the *Dictionary of National Biography* has no hesitation in saying, that 'it has long been recognized to have been written by this nobleman.'

It will be well, therefore, to describe in some detail the rather curious circumstances attending its production—circumstances not too clearly stated by the writer in *Notes and Queries*—before proceeding to sift the arguments for and against Dodsley as the author.

On Nov. 7th, 1750, there appeared in the *General Advertiser* the following advertisement:—

'In a few Days will be published, Price 2s. *The Oeconomy of Human Life*. Translated from an Indian Manuscript, written by an Ancient Bramin. To which is prefix'd, An Account of the Manner in which the said Manuscript was discovered. In a Letter from an English Gentleman now residing in China, to the Earl of——.'

On Nov. 15th, this advertisement was repeated

with the extra information that the book was being printed for M. Cooper at the Globe in Paternoster Row, that it had been entered in the Hall-book of the Company of Stationers, and that whoever should pirate it would be prosecuted. The writer in *Notes and Queries* calls attention to this warning, 'because it shows that the person who was to receive the profits anticipated that the work would become popular, and therefore liable to be pirated.' With this observation one must be in entire agreement, though it is necessary to add, that the practice of entering such books in the Hall-book was not in the least uncommon. On the following day, the *Oeconomy* was issued, and advertisements of its publication regularly appeared until the end of the month. Two magazines at least drew attention to the fact that Lord Chesterfield had been called the author, but both appeared sceptical, and were not too enthusiastic about the work itself. So far, indeed, the facts are clear. A new book had appeared, and for various reasons had aroused a large measure of interest, but on December 10th, another advertisement was inserted in the newspapers, which opened a peculiar campaign. 'On Thursday next at Noon,' it ran, 'will be published, *The Oeconomy of Human Life, Part II.* Taken from an Indian Manuscript, written by an Ancient Bramin, In a Second Letter from an English Gentleman, now residing in China, to the Earl of —.' So far, as the advertisement itself is concerned, there is nothing very remarkable, and on the Thursday mentioned, this 'Part II. and last,' was

found to have been printed for Mrs Cooper herself—the publisher of the first part. Here, too, nothing could be more commonplace. Mrs Cooper had published a first part, which had met with great success, and she now issued a second, and her customers naturally supposed that the author of the first part was the author of the second; but, a day or two later, the anonymous author of the first part issued an advertisement in which he strenuously denied having written any second part at all, and added that under no considerations would he do so. This was answered on Dec. 19th—the day after the *Oeconomy of a Winter's Day*, the first of many parodies and imitations, had appeared—by ‘the Editor of the *Oeconomy of Human Life*,’ who, ‘was surprised to see an anonymous Paragraph in the Publick Papers, as from the author, who has not existed these 2000 Years. The Artifice of this is easily seen thro’, and the Publick will as easily perceive, that the Spirit and Genius of the Sublime Author shines in each Part with equal energy and Beauty.’ On the face of it this paragraph is not written by the author of the first part, and it may be taken for granted that the two parts, although issued by the same publisher, come from different pens. On the very next day, the situation was further complicated by the appearance of another, though more honest, advertisement, wherein it was announced that, ‘an Appendix to the *Oeconomy of Human Life*’ would be published on the following Saturday, ‘in a Letter to the Earl of Chesterfield. Printed for E. Withers, at the Seven Stars, next the Inner Temple Gate, Fleet



Street,' to which was added a note declaring that 'the Author of the Appendix does not pretend to have borrowed the Contents from a Bramin, but flatters himself the Performance will be equally acceptable to the understanding and judicious World.' So far so good: this advertisement was the first wherein Chesterfield's name had actually occurred, but it obviously deals with no more than one of those spurious 'additions,' to well-known works, so common at the time. Directly beneath it, however, may be found another advertisement of far greater interest. Here it was announced that 'this Day is published, The Second Edition, (Price bound 1s. or half a Guinea a Dozen, to those who may be inclined to give them away *The Oeconomy of Human Life*. . . . Printed for R. Dodsley in Pall-mall, and sold by M. Cooper in Pater-noster-Row.' 'The Author of the Above,' it was added, 'thinks proper to declare, that he hath not written any Second Part or Appendix to the said Piece and that no Additions whatsoever will be made by him to it.' Here, then, Dodsley's name for the first time appears, and the reason seems sufficiently obvious. As we know from one of his letters to Joseph Warton, there were occasions when he deemed it advisable to publish without his name—not only, be it said, when he was the author himself, as in the case of the *Chronicle of the Kings*, but also when a friend of his desired to remain anonymous, as in the case of Warton's *Essay on Pope*—which he possibly would not have done were it known that the book had appeared from the *Tully's Head*. While, therefore, his decision

that the first edition of the *Oeconomy* should appear without his name as the publisher must not be taken to mean that he was necessarily its author, it suggests, in view of the second edition appearing from his office, that he had been interested in the publication from the start, and that the author, whoever he might be, was well-known to himself. Mrs Cooper did not apparently object to the publication of both genuine and spurious parts, and so Dodsley was forced to take the matter into his own hands. The cheaper edition, moreover, issued within five weeks, shows how widely the book was selling.

On Dec. 21st, Mrs Cooper repeated her advertisement of Part II., wherein 'the Editor'—one notices the distinction between editor and author—again begged 'leave to assure the Publick that the second Part was wrote by the same ancient Bramin, that was the Author of the First, as may clearly be perceived by the noble Sentiments, Energy and Beauty of Style so peculiar to himself.' This second part sold well, so well, indeed, that a second edition was issued on Jan. 1st, 1751, when Mrs Cooper, in spite of Dodsley's objection, as one supposes, sold it bound with the genuine part, the whole purporting to be written as it 'was originally intended by its great Author, for the Instruction and Improvement of Mankind.' At the same time, Withers issued a second edition of the *Appendix*, 'corrected and revised,' to which was added, 'Part VII which is given gratis to the Purchasers of the Former.' It would seem, then, that Dodsley did not at first prevail against his rivals.

Mrs Cooper certainly did not treat him well—it is impossible to suppose that a man of Dodsley's known integrity, could have engineered the whole matter for purposes of advertisement—and the *Appendix*, which did not profess to be written by the author of the *Oeconomy*, must have deprived him of a considerable portion of the profits. But in another week all, save his own advertisements, had mysteriously stopped, and henceforth he was alone in the field. On Jan. 8th, 'new editions in three Sizes,' were issued (only, of course, of the first part), 'the First a fine Writing Paper and large Letter, Price 2s. sew'd; the Second a Size smaller, Price 1s. 6d., the Third, still less, Price bound 1s., or half a Guinea a Dozen.' And below this announcement comes an explanation of considerable interest. 'The author of the above,' writes Dodsley, now heartily tired, one imagines, of the whole controversy, 'assumed the Character of an Indian Bramin, that he might cloak his Sentiments in an Eastern Dress with the more Propriety.' This was in reply to the 'editor's' sarcastic insinuation that both parts could with equal truth be described as the work of the same ancient Bramin.

Such, then, is the history of the publication of the *Oeconomy of Human Life*. And in the first place it will be well to examine the arguments in favour of regarding Lord Chesterfield as the author. There are in effect, no arguments at all! The writer in *Notes and Queries* says unhesitatingly, that, 'there is *prima facie* evidence that it could not have been written by any other person than Lord Chesterfield, for Lord Chesterfield by

his silence tacitly admitted the fact, and contented himself with getting that portion of the work out of literary pirates, and authenticating it by a paragraph in the newspapers.' Where, however, the *prima facie* evidence comes in, is not clear. Chesterfield was hardly the man publicly to contradict any false rumour that helped to increase his reputation. He was by no means the Sir John Chester of Dickens's imagination, but when he was not indifferent to public opinion, he desired the position of a beneficent Maecenas. At this rumour, he might have smiled quietly to himself, but he would hardly have spoken. And the other point, seized upon by those who would give Chesterfield the honour of authorship—the published letter of a Mrs Constantia Teresa Phillips, to Chesterfield, in reference to a desire expressed by him that she would write the *Whole Duty of Woman*—is similarly untenable. The writer in *Notes and Queries* maintains that the misrepresentation of this story had 'afforded reviewers at a later period a pretext for robbing Lord Chesterfield of his share of the work,' but in what way this robbery was effected, he does not care to explain. From the notice of the *Oeconomy* in the *Monthly Review* for Nov. 1750, it would certainly seem that Chesterfield had actually shown, or even lent Mrs Phillips the manuscript of the *Oeconomy* earlier in the year, but that fact does not mean that he was its author. As is well known Chesterfield had long ago extended his patronage to Dodsley, who repeatedly sought his advice, upon literary matters, and if he were the author of the *Oeconomy* he would assuredly

have handed it round in manuscript to his friends—Chesterfield among their number—for their opinion. Then, if Chesterfield was the author, there seems no reason whatever why Dodsley should not have put his own name as publisher on the title page. There was certainly a difference between Chesterfield, and, say, Joseph Warton, or even Lord Lyttelton, whose name, be it said, was also mentioned in connection with the *Oeconomy*. Chesterfield did not belong to that clique who dined so regularly at Dodsley's house. He was always the patron rather than the friend. And it is almost inconceivable that if he were the author, he should have placed the manuscript with Mrs Cooper, and only allow Dodsley the privilege of relieving him from pirates. No single editor, moreover, of Chesterfield's works mentions the *Oeconomy* as his work—there is no mention of it in his letters—and he seems utterly to have ignored it. Lastly, the only mention of the book in contemporary letters, which we have seen, expressly states that he was not the author. Writing to Shenstone on Jan. 28th, 1751, Lady Luxborough after speaking of Chesterfield, says: 'Apropos of his lordship; he is not the author of the *Oeconomy of Human Life*.'

Turning now to Dodsley—Lyttelton's pretensions may be ignored—we immediately see much in favour of his authorship. In the first place he had already made use of the quasi-biblical language in which the *Oeconomy* is written, in his *Chronicle of the Kings*, which had been issued, as we have seen, anonymously, and in the first instance by another publisher. What



more natural than that he should again make use of the same style ? In the second place, Shenstone, who must surely have learnt the truth, expressly mentions the *Oeconomy* as a work written by Dodsley in a volume of letters which he had received from the publisher, and bound together. This was in 1759. In the third place there are numerous lists of books issued by the Dodsleys, wherein the *Oeconomy* is invariably bracketed with Dodsley's known works. Fourthly, a twelfth edition of the *Oeconomy* formed part of the second volume of Dodsley's *Trifles* which his brother issued in 1777. Lastly, when a Latin translation by Gilbert Massey was published by Mrs Cooper in 1752, it bore the sub-title 'Primùm Anglicè à Roberto Dodsley conscripta.' On the other hand, it may be objected that in none of Dodsley's letters is there any mention of the book, but it so happens that with only three or four exceptions, none of his letters of this period have been preserved, and there is the same silence over the *Chronicle of the Kings*. All the earlier biographers certainly credit Dodsley with the work, even though most of them admit that his reputation suffered from the method of publication. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Dec. 1793 speaks without hesitation on this point. 'I remember when worthy Robert Dodsley's *Oeconomy of Human Life* . . . had its Lyttelton and Chesterfield for reputed parents ; that conjecture, however, is long since removed from uncertainty, and the excellent piece is given to its ingenious owner ; who yet, if one may judge from the Bramin's lean figure in the frontispiece, had no objec-

tion to its being supposed to be the communication of Hagley's noble Lord.' This apparently is the only mention of Lyttelton's name in the controversy, and it may be dismissed straightway. The frontispiece must be taken for no more than an allegorical picture.

It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose Dodsley to be the true author of the genuine first part ; in which case the change of publisher as also the nature of the rival advertisements immediately become clear. Dodsley has nothing to say about the excellence of either the author's style or his matter ; his rival, who still remains unknown, dilates upon both. Dodsley with justice calls himself the author, his rival is content to call himself its editor. Other evidence may come to light, but at present it would seem that no pretensions, save Dodsley's, can be upheld.

The book itself must be numbered amongst the minor literary successes of the century, and even though it has now been superseded, obtained readers until the Victorian age brought in its trail a new school of moral writers. It was translated into many languages. Over a French translation Dodsley had further trouble., On April 15th, 1751, he issued an advertisement to the effect that in a few days, would be published a French translation, ' made by command of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Orange for the Use of his Daughter the Princess Caroline.' This was the work of M. de la Douespe, the prince's chaplain, but it was forestalled by some weeks by another translation, the work of the Sieur Michel Desprefays, issued by Paul Valliant, a Strand bookseller of some standing, who

dealt more particularly in French literature. Dodsley's translation did not appear until May 15th. The seventh English edition appeared on June 7th of this year, and was speedily followed by a Latin rendering. Ultimately the book was translated into Spanish (with Chesterfield's name as the author), into Italian, and into German.

Dodsley may well have been proud of his success.

Another work of Dodsley's own composition here deserves a passing notice. In Nov. 1753 he published a long and rather dreary poem in blank verse, called *Agriculture*. This was the first book of a poem to be called *Public Virtue*, which, however, was never finished. In case of success Dodsley had proposed to complete his scheme by writing two further books respectively dealing with Commerce and the Arts, but the reception of his *Agriculture* was not of an encouraging nature, and no further part ever appeared. The time, he says in his preface, for its composition, 'was either snatched from the hours of business, or stolen from those of rest.' He had consulted 'men as well as books for the knowledge of his subjects,' and the performance was 'no hasty one,' but the poem, in spite of the praise of various friends—Shenstone and Spence prominent amongst their number—did not sell, and Dodsley wisely relinquished his project. His disappointment was keen, but there was other work to be done. Yet there are many pleasing lines in his poem, and it might be supposed that his encomium of the new art of landscape-garden-

ing, then becoming more and more popular, would have aroused a measure of public interest ; but this apparently was not the case. Dr Johnson in after years spoke of it with some contempt. It was ' fine blank,' he allowed, but ' a miserable poem,' and, as he related, ' my poor friend Doddy said Public Virtue was not a subject to interest the age.' Yet Walpole read it more than once, as he says, in manuscript or proofs, and on Nov. 4th, 1753, he sent a letter to Dodsley with some suggestions.

' I am sorry you think it any trouble to me to peruse your poem again ; I always read it with pleasure. One or two little passages I have taken the liberty to mark and to offer you alterations. . . [*Here they follow.*] I don't know whether you will think my emendations for the better. I beg in no wise that you will adopt any of them out of complaisance ; I only suggest them to you at your desire, and am far from insisting on them. I most heartily wish you the success you so well deserve, and am,

' Your very humble servant,

' HOR. WALPOLE.'

His *Agriculture* is now completely forgotten, but two or three lines may be here reprinted.

' O native Sherwood ! happy were thy bard,  
Might these his rural notes, to future time  
Boast of tall groves, that, nodding o'er the plain,  
Rose to their tuneful melody. But ah !  
Beneath the feeble efforts of a Muse  
Untutor'd by the lore of Greece or Rome ;  
A stranger to the fair Castalian springs,  
Whence happier poets inspiration draw,

And the sweet magic of perswasive song,  
The weak presumption, the fond hope expires,  
Yet sure some sacred impulse stirs my breast !  
I feel, I feel an heavenly guest within !  
And all-obedient to the ruling God,  
The pleasing talk which he inspires, pursue.'

That is his apology.



## CHAPTER IX

### “ THE WORLD ”

TOWARDS the end of 1752 Dodsley seems to have come to the conclusion that a long enough time had lapsed since he had saddled himself with a periodical. He had failed with the *Publick Register*, but that failure had in part been wiped out by the *Museum*. Aken-side's paper, however, had hardly been of such a character as could compare with the still widely popular *Tatlers* and *Spectators* of Addison and Steele. In the last few years, moreover, many new papers, some of lasting literary importance, had appeared. The first number of Johnson's *Rambler* had been published on March 20th, 1750, on which day the *Tatler Revived*; or the *Christian Philosopher and Politician* made its appearance. Two months before, Joseph Warton had helped to launch the *Student* at Oxford. A year later the notorious quack, 'Sir' John Hill, whose attack upon Dodsley will appear in a little, founded the widely read *Inspector*, a rather remarkable daily production which he seems to have conducted almost unassisted for two years. Then, in Jan. 1752, Henry Fielding had projected the *Covent Garden Journal*, and in October the first

number of the *Gray's Inn Journal* had been issued by the future dramatist, Arthur Murphy, then only twenty-one, under the assumed name of Charles Ranger, Esq., who, imitating the *Spectator*, had introduced himself as one of a 'club of originals.' Most of these papers enjoyed but a short life, yet it seems as though they had fired Dodsley's ambition. And so the *World* was projected—a weekly sheet, well printed upon a folio page of good paper, which should maintain Addison's best traditions of essay-writing, and at the same time eschew too ponderous a style and too didactic a treatment. It was to treat of society in an impersonal, though satirical, way, was to have nothing to say of either religion or politics, and was 'to ridicule, with novelty and good-humour, the fashions, follies, vices, and absurdities of that part of the human species which calls itself the World.' It was to consist of 'papers of pleasantry enforcing some lesser duty or reprehending some fashionable folly' which would 'be of more real use than the finest writing and most virtuous moral,' which, opines one of the contributors, none will now 'be at pains to read through.' In a word, it was to be a paper 'written by gentlemen for gentlemen.' A difficulty immediately arose about the title. Joseph Warton told Boswell that he and Garrick and others had been present one day at the *Tully's Head* for the express purpose of settling so knotty a point, but in spite of Garrick's suggestion of *The Salad*—a title afterwards applied to himself by Goldsmith—nothing that was suggested met with very general approbation, and it was only after the

company had separated, that Dodsley himself thought of the singularly appropriate title that was afterwards chosen.

For his editor he took Mr Edward Moore, a contributor to his *Collection of Poems*, and at that time well-known as the author of some amusing *Fables for the Female Sex*. Moore seems to have drifted into the little band of literary enthusiasts that Dodsley gathered round him about 1748, when his comedy *The Foundling* was brought upon the stage. Three years later he had written his second piece, *Gil Blas*, and was to obtain further fame during the first year of *The World* with his tragedy of the *Gamester*. Moore's early years seem to have been spent in a linen draper's shop, but like Dodsley he had early shown literary abilities, and henceforth lived by his pen. He was a man after the publisher's own heart.

The agreement between editor and proprietor was not actually drawn out until the paper had successfully passed through some half a dozen numbers, but it may be given here :

#### ' MEMORANDUM

' That it is agreed this 23<sup>d</sup> day of February 1753, between Mr Edward Moore of Hampton Court Gent. on the one part, & Mr Robert Dodsley of Pall mall Bookseller on the other part, as follows : viz : the s<sup>d</sup> Mr Moore doth agree to write or cause to be written a Paper call'd the *World*, containing one Sheet & a half printed in the manner of the *Rambler*, and the s<sup>d</sup> Mr Dodsley doth agree to give the s<sup>d</sup> Mr Moore three

Guineas for each of the Papers, so long as they shall both agree to publish them under that title : and whenever the s<sup>d</sup> Mr Moore shall chuse to discontinue them, the s<sup>d</sup> Mr Dodsley shall be at liberty to carry them on under that Title with any other Author ; and if the s<sup>d</sup> Mr Dodsley shall chuse to discontinue them, the s<sup>d</sup> Mr Moore shall be at liberty to carry them on with any other Bookseller. And it is further agreed by the s<sup>d</sup> Parties, that whenever the s<sup>d</sup> Paper shall be collected & printed in smaller Volumes, that then one Moiety of y<sup>e</sup> Property of the Copy, & of the profits arising from printing any such Editions shall be the s<sup>d</sup> Mr Moore's, his heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns ; and the other Moiety shall be the s<sup>d</sup> Mr Dodsley's, his Executors Administrators or Assigns. In Witness whereof we have set our hands and seal the day above written

‘ In presence of

‘ JOHN HINXMAN.	EDW <sup>d</sup> MOORE.
‘ WILLIAM RANDALL.	RDODSLEY.’

Bowing to the fashion of the day Moore adopted the fictitious name of Adam Fitzadam, who, as his readers were informed in an advertisement attached to the first number (issued on Jan. 4th), was ‘ to be spoke with every Thursday at *Tully's Head*.’ Mr Fitzadam, it would seem, was a most accomplished person. He had ‘ investigated all the sciences, acquired all languages, and entered into the deepest recesses of nature and the passions.’ He undertook to cure all diseases of the human mind, to get husbands

for young maids, and good humour for old ones. Of his rivals he proposed to take but small notice, but desired 'to live in peace, friendship and good neighbourhood,' although, should he be attacked by any of them, he hoped his adversary would not insist on further notice being taken, than only to say, as the old sergeant had said to the ensign who was beating him, 'I beseech your honour not to hurt yourself.'

The paper, conceived and carried out in such a good-humoured spirit, scored an immediate success, and in a little time Moore was able to tell Joe Warton that Dodsley was obliged to print 2500 copies of each number—a large circulation for those days. The first five numbers were written by Moore himself, but the sixth was the work of Horace Walpole, who, so long as the paper lasted, showed an active interest in its welfare. 'His gifts,' says one of his biographers, 'were exactly suited to the new work, and his productions in the new journal are by no means its worst.' His second contribution (No. 8) contains an appeal uttered, it would seem, in all kindliness on behalf of the notorious Stephen Theodore, Baron de Neuhoff and King of Corsica, who at the moment was languishing for debt in one of the common prisons. To such miserable straits, writes Walpole, has come none other than 'a monarch, whose courage raised him to a throne . . . by the voluntary election of an injured people,' a man 'whose claim to royalty' is as 'indisputable as the most ancient titles to a monarchy can pretend to be.' Theodore was certainly an adventurer of none too scrupulous a kind, but there was no denying that he had



been crowned, and, according to Mr Walpole, who had not then received first-hand evidence of the man's true character, had fallen from his high estate through no fault of his own. ‘The debts on his civil list were owing to no misapplication, no improvidence of his own, no corruption of his ministers, no indulgence to favourites or mistresses. His diet was philosophic, his palace humble, his robes decent: yet his butcher, his landlady, and his taylor, could not continue to supply an establishment which had no demesnes to support it, no taxes to maintain it, no excises, no lotteries to provide funds for its deficiencies and emergencies.’ Truly a heartrending story! The British Nation could hardly be expected to allow such things to be. And so, as Mr Walpole hastens to inform his readers, ‘a subscription for a subsidy for the use of his Corsican Majesty, is opened at *Tully's Head* in Pall Mall, where the Generous and the Fair are desired to pay in their contributions to Robert Dodsley, who is appointed high-treasurer and grand librarian of the island of Corsica for life—posts, which, give me leave to say, Mr Dodsley would have disclaimed to accept under any monarch of arbitrary principles.

“A bookseller of Rome, while Rome surviv'd,  
Would not have been lord treas'rer to a king.”

The subscription list was opened on Feb. 22nd, but Mr Walpole admitted that he was hardly sanguine about its success, and, indeed, much scepticism seems to have been displayed. Probably not one in a hundred had so much as heard of the unfortunate

Theodore, and of those who had, few could have heard a good word about him. The subscription list was supposed to be no more than one of Mr Fitzadam's little jokes, a fact which led Dodsley to insert an advertisement to the contrary in the next number of the *World* :

‘TO THE PUBLIC.

‘Whereas some gentlemen have doubted whether the subscription for the use of king Theodore, was really intended to be carried on, I am ordered to acquaint the Public, that Mr Fitzadam was not only in earnest in promoting such a contribution, but has already received some noble benefactions for that purpose ; and he will take care to apply the subsidy in the most uncorrupt manner to the uses for which it was designed, and to the honour and dignity of the crown of Corsica.

‘ROBERT DODSLEY.’

The ‘noble benefactions,’ however, were hardly of a regal size, and when the subscription list was closed on March 27th, no more than fifty pounds had been collected. This sum was duly despatched. Hardly had it been delivered into the exiled king's hands, however, when Mr Walpole and his ‘secretary’ Dodsley received a shock. Theodore, who must have heard of the scheme for helping him with some gratification, accepted the money, but seems to have been so disappointed with its amount that, instead of sending a polite letter of thanks, he bade a lawyer go round to

the *Tully's Head*, and threaten Dodsley with a prosecution for having taken so much liberty with his august Majesty's name ! It was then that the polite Mr Walpole began to understand that he had written on behalf of a gentleman whose real character bore but small resemblance to that described with so much pathos in his excellent paper. He wrote disgustedly to his friend Mann. ‘Dodsley, you may believe, laughed at the lawyer ; but that does not lessen the dirty knavery. It would indeed have made an excellent suit ! a printer prosecuted, suppose, for having solicited and obtained charity for a man in prison, and that man not mentioned by his right name, but by a mock title, and the man himself not a native of the country !—but I have done with countenancing kings.’ He did not, however, hesitate to erect a monument in St Anne's Church, Soho, to the unfortunate man when he died in Dec. 1756, and the exiled king's Great Seal might afterwards have been seen in a prominent position in one of the rooms at Strawberry Hill.

Moore had not long to wait before he received numerous offers of assistance, many through the kindly interference of Lyttelton. William Whitehead and Francis Coventry of *Pompey the Little* fame had already contributed when Pulteney, now become Lord Bath, sent in a rather commonplace description of Newmarket, which appeared as the seventeenth number. ‘He seems to have entirely lost all his wit and genius,’ writes Walpole on this occasion, and adds that the next number will be Lord Chesterfield's work,

though, he continues somewhat spitefully, it will probably be no more than his name which will make it applauded. Chesterfield's paper duly appeared as No. 18, with an apology for its late appearance. It seems that he had sent it to Mr Fitzadam anonymously, and Maty relates that it received 'but a scanty inspection, and was very near being excluded on account of its length. This neglect,' he adds meaningfully, 'would have stopt any future communications ; but fortunately Lord Lyttelton happening to call at Mr Dodsley's, the paper was shewn to him. He immediately knew the hand, and still more the manner of writing, of the noble author.' One may doubt whether Maty is correct. Dodsley would surely have known Chesterfield's writing, although of course it is possible that he had not seen the paper. Lyttelton afterwards quarrelled with Moore over some small question, it would seem, of literary precedence, and Dodsley asked Walpole to effect a reconciliation. Walpole, very amused, promised his help, but history does not record what happened, and it is to be noted that Lyttelton himself does not figure amongst the contributors.

Chesterfield himself wrote with some regularity. His second paper contains mention of 'my worthy friend Mr Dodsley,' who has shown him 'a new kind of paper, made, from his account, in France, which is 'as pleasing to the eye, and as conducive to the dispatch, the clearness, and at the same time, the secrecy of all literary correspondence,' as could be desired. It is just possible that this was Baskerville's celebrated



*Photo.*

*Emery Walker*

ROBERT DODSLEY

*From the picture by William Alcock, now in the National Portrait Gallery*





writing paper, ornamented by hand with allegorical pictures. Dodsley, indeed, was ever interested in new inventions of this kind, and the latest improvements as well in stationary as in printing types or paper, might have been seen in his shop. Curiously, too, this paper of Chesterfield's exhibits Dodsley in the unexpected light of a painter! ‘I think it my duty,’ he writes, ‘to inform the public that my good friend Mr Dodsley, who has long complained of the decay of trade, and who loves, with a prudent regard for his own interest, to encourage every successful invention, is at this time learning to paint with most unwearied diligence and application; and I make no doubt, but that in a very little time he will be able to furnish all sorts of persons with the very best ready-made goods of that kind. I warned him,’ he adds rather wittily, ‘against providing any for the two learned professions of the law and physic, which I apprehend would lie upon his hands.’

Other papers by Joe Warton, Walpole and Moore followed, and then came Dodsley's single contribution (No. 32) a rather amusing dissertation upon the malady of criticism. Therein he expresses surprise that such a malady has not before come under Mr Fitzadam's notice. ‘By the infection of dedications,’ he writes, and he must surely have been familiar enough by this time with their contents, ‘it began to spread itself among the great, and from them, like the gout or a more noble distemper, it descended to their inferiors, till at last it has infected all ranks and orders of men. Young masters of arts,’ he adds, ‘students in the

Temple, attorneys' clerks, haberdashers' apprentices and fine gentlemen are most liable to the contagion.' For their benefit he recommends 'an immediate and regular course of Carminatives.' Angelica, camomile and other unpleasant medicines are to be mixed with the patient's tea, and carroway seeds are to be ever in his mouth, after which treatment he will be infallibly cured. Dodsley's paper is by no means the least interesting of the series.

Papers followed by the younger Duncombe, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the Earl of Cork and Richard Owen Cambridge—'the everything,' as his neighbour Walpole calls him. With Cambridge's contributions came some delicate verse. The poet himself had been introduced to Moore by Lyttelton, and from this time was one of the most frequent of the contributors—he was the author of twenty-one papers—one of the volumes of the *World* afterwards being dedicated to him. An amusing anecdote is recorded by his son and biographer. A note came from Moore, requesting an essay. It was put into Cambridge's hands, 'on a Sunday morning as he was starting for church.' Mrs Cambridge afterwards observed that he was rather inattentive during the sermon, and she whispered: 'Of what are you thinking?' Cambridge replied, aptly enough: 'Of the next *World*, my dear.'

With such writers the paper not unnaturally increased in popularity. All the world looked forward to its weekly appearance. 'Send me no translations,' writes Lady Mary Montagu from abroad,

'no periodical papers, though I confess some of the *World* entertained me very much, particularly Lord Chesterfield and Horry Walpole, but,' she cannot resist adding, 'whenever I met Dodsley, I wished him out of the world with all my heart.'

It was Nos. 100 and 101 which drew upon Chesterfield's head Dr Johnson's memorable letter, but he did not on that account stop his contributions, which ultimately reached the respectable number of twenty-four. Two or three months later, Moore informed his readers of his intentions with regard to the successful handing over of his paper to posterity. 'I had never considered,' he writes, 'till very lately, that the paper of the *World*, though it cost no more than twopence, and is published but once a week, yet when continued to a hundred thousand numbers, or perhaps to the end of all time (for I have taken care that the secret of writing it shall not die with me), must be too heavy a tax on the generations of the poor. From a due consideration of this weighty affair, and influenced thereto by the noble and disinterested spirit of my brethren the doctors, I have directed my good friend Mr Dodsley to bind up in three volumes the aggregate of these my labours, for the years one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, and one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four; and to distribute the said volumes among all the booksellers of this great metropolis, to be sold by them to-morrow and for ever at so small a price as three shillings a volume. And I have the pleasure of declaring, with equal truth with the proprietor of the Old Iron Pear-tree Water and its salts,

that to relieve the unhappy is the full end of this publication.' Truly a delightful form of advertisement! The three volumes were issued on Mar. 14th, 1755, being dedicated respectively to Chesterfield, Walpole and Cambridge. The *World*, however, had not yet come to an end. Three more volumes appeared before the paper was definitely abandoned, and then, curiously enough, the fictitious death of Mr Fitzadam practically coincided with the actual death of Moore. That, however, was not until the end of 1756. In the meantime the number of contributors had increased. Garrick had given Dodsley some verses, Soame Jenyns had written three or four of the wittiest numbers, both Lord Hailes and Richard Berenger had contributed three papers, and Joseph Warton and Mr Gataker, the surgeon, one each. Edward Lovibond, another poet who figures in the *Collection of Poems*, had sent Moore five essays of a more serious nature than had hitherto appeared, and efforts had been made by Dodsley to obtain a contribution from Shenstone, whose indolence forbade him to comply with the request until it was too late. The *World*, indeed, seemed to have lost none of its popularity; yet one cannot help recalling the anecdote which Mr Fitzadam is not ashamed to tell in his 183rd number. 'It was formerly a very agreeable amusement to me,' he says, 'to look in at Mr Dodsley's on a Thursday morning, and observe the great demand for these my lucubrations; but though the same demand continues among the men, I have frequently the mortification of hearing a smart footman delivering



a message in the shop, "that his lady desires Mr Dodsley will send her in no more *Worlds*, for that she has cut off her hair, and shall have no further occasion for them any longer." "

Moore, however, seems to have fallen ill, and so perforce did Mr Fitzadam, and so it came about that in the 209th number, which was issued on December 30th, 1756, when the paper was just four years old, Mr Fitzadam's name no longer appeared, but Mrs Cooper's. 'Before these lines can reach the press,' says she, or rather Moore, who, it seems was still well enough to write this valedictory address, 'poor Mr Fitzadam will in all probability be no more.' An accident had happened to this great and amiable gentleman whilst driving; he had been removed to a neighbour's house, and there confessed his early sins to Mrs Cooper, whose guest at Hoxton he was to have been. And, so goes the story, as he lay on his death-bed, he cried: 'The *World*, Mrs Cooper, is now at an end.' He lingered, however, for a little while, but ordered that his periodical should be brought to an immediate close; which was done, and then and there the *World* stopped publication, although the New Year saw a *World Extraordinary* from Walpole's pen. And then, whilst the last three volumes of the reprinted *World* were passing through the press, there came the sudden news that Moore himself had died on Feb. 27th, 1757. From a letter of Bedingfield's to Tom Warton, one gathers, however, that the *World* did not cease publication so much on account of Moore's possible illness, as from the fact that he

proposed to issue in its place another paper, more similar in its scope to the monthly magazines. 'Perhaps,' writes Mr Bedingfield on March 3rd, 1757, 'ere this comes to hand, you will see by the newspapers that poor More (*sic*), whom we met so lately at Dodsley's, is dead. I read it this morning in the papers. It was scarcely a fortnight ago, that Gataker came to me in his name to propose my being engaged with him in his intended Magazine.' Unfortunately there is no other mention of this proposed publication.

That the adoption, says Nathan Drake, of a 'continued tone of gaiety and levity was, from inattention or mistake, attended with some danger to the reader, we have the confession of the author; and that it was necessary to popularity, at least to any popularity worth acquiring, time has convinced us is a fallacy; for though the circulation of the *World* in numbers was unprecedentedly great, owing, in a high degree, to the various titled and fashionable names that were known to assist in its composition, it is now, if we except the *Connoisseur*, less read than any of what may be termed the Classical Essayists. A paper, indeed, solely confined to irony and the ridicule of fashionable folly, though susceptible of much temporary, cannot expect a very durable, fame. The *World*, however, in the line to which it is limited, has undoubtedly much merit; for though exhibiting very little either of pathos, imagination, or critical taste, it is throughout gay and sparkling, and has reproduced, with fresh grace and lustre, the philosophy of Aristippus.'

Drake may deplore the lack of serious purpose, but the *World* must be considered to be the best of the Society journals ever printed, and in its day enjoyed such a vogue as had been the lot of no other paper of the kind since the days of the *Spectator*.

## CHAPTER X

### THE PRODUCTION OF CLEONE : DODSLEY AND GARRICK

ONE afternoon during the last weeks of November 1758, an unusual scene was taking place in Rich's sadly unfashionable theatre in Covent Garden. The rehearsal of a tragedy 'never yet perform'd' was being gone through, and, mingled with the performers on the stage, might have been seen a number of distinguished people, a majority of whom, it is safe to say, had never before set foot in the theatre. There were poets and peers, statesmen and diplomatists, and they had come at the earnest request of their friend Mr Robert Dodsley to favour him (and the performers) with their views upon the acting of his tragedy of *Cleone*. Lord Lyttelton was there, and Dr Johnson, and Lord Chesterfield. The part of Cleone herself was being undertaken by the blue-eyed George Anne Bellamy, and she and Lord Lyttelton were engaged in a hot dispute, in which Dr Johnson, Dodsley himself, and, one supposes, most of the others were pleased to join. Chesterfield expressed pleasure at the performance, but afterwards wrote to Dodsley, saying, 'You should instruct the actors not to mouth

out the Y in Siffroy, as if they were crying oysters.' Lyttelton, in spite of his 'partiality' for the heroine, did not hesitate to assert that she had 'totally misconceived the character.' Mrs Bellamy, however, preferred to go her own way, and only paused when she received a very hearty pinch on the arm from Johnson with some words of advice to which she was not very ready to listen. But at this time she did not personally know the great man, and was so far determined to go her own way, that she refused to wear the hoop which had hitherto been thought so necessary an adjunct to tragic parts. Dodsley himself was by no means satisfied with her rendering, but she listened to him no more than she listened to the others, and on the night of the production, achieved the success of her life !

The success of the piece, she writes in her *Memoirs*, 'depended entirely upon the heroine . . . and this, as the company then stood, was a double recommendation, for Ross and Smith<sup>1</sup> exerted their talents much better under the auspices of Thalia than of Melpomene.' The language of the tragedy, she goes on to say, was simple, and she determined that her performance should be the same. 'It was an effort worth trying ; as from its novelty, I should, at least, have the merit of its being all my own. . . . The Public had been so accustomed to noise and violence in their *mad* stage ladies, that it was supposed from my manner, which was weakened by real indisposition, and prevented

<sup>1</sup> Smith, however, did not appear in the tragedy. It is possibly a mistake for Sparks, who took the part of Glanville.



my rehearsing out, that the piece, which totally depended upon me, would not succeed.' The rehearsal, however, proceeded, and Mrs Bellamy persisted in her course. She records Dr Johnson's enthusiasm. 'When I came to repeat, "Thou shalt not murder," Dr Johnson caught me by the arm, and that somewhat too briskly, saying at the same time, "It is a commandment, and must be spoken, 'Thou shalt *not* murder.'"' As I had not then the honour of knowing personally that great genius, I was not a little displeased at his enforcing instructions with so much vehemence.' The great man's pinch, indeed, seems to have increased her indisposition, which was one of the causes that helped to postpone the production for a few days.

Fortunately perhaps for the fate of the tragedy, the evening of Saturday, Dec. 2nd., arrived without a change on the part of Mrs Bellamy's policy of restraint. She wore no hoop, and she did not shriek at the top of her voice throughout the play, and the great crowd that had collected to do honour, if possible, to the bookseller-poet, alternately cheered and wept. The tragedy was an unqualified success.

'Upon my going to the theatre to dress,' she writes, 'Mr Dodsley accosted me with all the apprehensions of an author for his darling bantling. He intimated to me, that all his friends as well as himself, imagined I was not forcible enough in the mad scene. The pain I was in from a blister, which my indisposition had rendered necessary, together with the anxiety naturally attendant on appearing in a new character,

made me answer that good man with a petulance which afterwards gave me great uneasiness. I told him that I had a reputation to lose as an actress ; but as for his piece, Mr Garrick had anticipated the damnation of it, publicly, the previous evening, at the Bedford Coffee-house, when he had declared, that it could not pass muster as it was the very worst piece ever exhibited. Having said this, I left him, not very well pleased with me for my freedom. And he afterwards informed me, that he greatly regretted having chosen me for his heroine.' Despite, however, this difference, hastily patched up, one may suppose, between author and actress, the tragedy succeeded beyond everyone's expectation. The applause,' says Mrs Bellamy, ' was repeated so often when I seemingly died, that I scarcely knew, or even could believe, that it was the effect of approbation. But upon hearing the same voice which had instructed me in the commandment, exclaim aloud from the pit, "*I will write a copy of verses upon her myself*," I knew that my success was insured, and that *Cleone* bid fair to run a race with any of the modern productions.'

There are three factors about Dodsley's tragedy—now relegated with most of its contemporaries to a background of complete obscurity—which help in part to explain the extraordinary interest shown in its production. In the first place it was played at the theatre which had long been banned by the world of fashion, and was the means of establishing it as a resort for the Quality ; in the second it was a domestic drama, devoid of those stilted heroics

which most of Dodsley's contemporaries had been careful to commandeer for their work, and—perhaps most important of all—it was the cause of a serious quarrel between Garrick and Dodsley, until then on terms of some intimacy, which provided London with agreeable small-talk for some months, and divided the town into two factions. In the whole course of his life Dodsley had never before been so thoroughly aroused. The treatment which he received at the hands of a man who had called himself friend, bitterly incensed him, and although an attempt was made to bring them together, no reconciliation was ever effected. It will be seen, moreover, that while Garrick's behaviour was more than a little doubtful, Dodsley emerges from an unpleasant conflict with flying colours, and with the single exception of Warburton, who seems to have taken violent antipathies on several occasions for no reason at all, there is not a single writer of importance who has left on record any condemnation of the poet's conduct. The production of *Cleone* placed him on a par with the first dramatists of his day, and it is of interest to note that as it was a play which had been the means of embarking him upon his career as a bookseller, so it was another play, although one of a far more ambitious nature than the *Toy-shop*, which ultimately caused his retirement from the *Tully's Head*.

The history of the production is particularly interesting, and may be followed out in some small detail. 'I shew'd my first Plan of the Piece,' writes Dodsley, 'which was in three Acts, to Mr Pope, so

long ago as two or three years before his death, who told me, that in his early youth, he attempted a Tragedy on the same subject, which he afterwards burnt ; and it was he advis'd me to extend my Plan to five Acts. I let it lie by me, however, some years after his death, before I thought any more about it, deter'd from pursuing it by fear of failing in the attempt. But happening at last to fall upon a method of altering and extending my Plan, I resum'd the design, and as leisure from other avocations permitted, have brought it to its present state.' From his letters we hear nothing of the piece until June, 1756, when he was proposing to pay a visit to the Leasowes. By this time the tragedy was completed, and he playfully alludes to the fact. ' I bring in my hand,' he writes, ' according to your request, an unfortunate melancholy creature, whom you will find so perverse in her Disposition, that she will take pleasure in nothing so much as in causing your tears. However, You shall have as little of her Company as you please, and if we find her in the least disagreeable we'll lock her up, and banish her from our walks.' Shenstone, in common with others competent to judge, gave a favourable opinion. Writing to Graves in the next month, he says : ' He [Dodsley] has made a few days extremely agreeable to me at the Leasowes ; has been shewing me his new Tragedy, which I wished you also might peruse. If I be not unaccountably imposed upon by my friendship for the writer, the extraordinary merit of this performance is altogether unquestionable. I will not inform you through what hands it has

passed in town ; because I would have you communicate your sentiments to him with entire freedom, being assured the delicacy of them may yet be of service, and that the openness with which you communicate them will be infinitely pleasing to Mr Dodsley. He has done me the honour to ask for an epilogue :— I *wish*, but *fear* to undertake it. Should any lucky hint occur to you, I well know how you are able to manage it to advantage.’ This passage is of particular interest as Graves, some weeks later, sent to Dodsley the epilogue which afterwards appeared with but slight alterations, as Shenstone’s own work !

Lord Chesterfield was probably one of the earliest to note the merits of the tragedy, and it may have been through him that sundry great ladies expressed a desire to see the manuscript. Lady Luxborough must have read it at Barrels, whither Dodsley went on leaving the Leasowes, and soon after his return to London the famous Dr Messenger Monsey informed him that the Duchess of Leeds was eager to borrow a copy. ‘About a fortnight ago, ‘writes Dodsley to the Duchess (Sept. 28th, 1756) ‘Dr Mounsey acquainted me with the honour your Grace did me in desiring to see my Attempt at a Tragedy. I had then no Copy but what was so blotted as to render it scarce legible ; and being too well acquainted with its many natural weaknesses and Imperfections, I was not willing to add to its faults by suffering it to appear before your Grace in so unadvantageous and disrespectful a Dishabille. I transcrib’d it therefore,





REV<sup>d</sup> RICHARD GRAVES, A. M.

*Rector of Claverton.*

REV. RICHARD GRAVES, FRIEND OF SHENSTONE AND DODSLEY  
(From an old print)



and You may now read it with somewhat more ease, but whether with any satisfaction I am very doubtful. I wish I could flatter my self that it had merit enough to prevent your Grace from repenting your Curiosity : but indeed I lay it before You with real diffidence : should it however be so fortunate as in the least to engage your attention, I shall look upon it as a happy omen of its future Success.'

At the beginning of October (1756) he is again writing to Shenstone. 'I was in hopes,' he says, 'before this time to have seen an Epilogue from You, but as I suppose an old Enemy of mine, whom You still cherish in your bosom, notwithstanding all I have said against him, maintains his evil influence over you, to my prejudice, I send for your correction an Epilogue I receiv'd from Mr Graves ; which I like very well, only I think it does not close happily : and I could have wish'd for your Name, as it is better known, and would have done me more Honour. You see my Selfishness,' he adds, 'and after this confession how can I with any grace solicit You to gratify so mean a Passion in me ? But Self love is such a blinder, that I can see no meanness in it.' He encloses Mr Graves's Epilogue. Two days later he is sending a copy of *Cleone*, possibly the fair copy that had been returned by the Duchess of Leeds, to Dr Young, asking for his opinion. From a sentence in this letter, it would seem that the tragedy had already been sent to Garrick, who had either definitely refused it or was still hesitating. 'Next to my presumption,' writes the truly modest author, 'in making such an attempt,

my temerity in venturing it under your inspection, will subject me to the imputation of much self confidence. As I would not willingly give the least shadow of reason for such an accusation, I will confess, that if it had not already receiv'd y<sup>e</sup> approbation of some very judicious friends (too partial perhaps in this Instance) I durst not have hazarded its appearance at the Bar of so allow'd and experienc'd a Judge : nor can I yet resign it to its fate without strongly solliciting that Tenderness which a first fault may be hoped to find, and that Candor, which the first attempt of an Author unassisted by learning, may justly claim.' Whether, indeed, Garrick was then only hesitating, or had positively refused the tragedy is not clear, but a week later he certainly seems to have behaved in the most curious manner towards Dodsley, for when the bookseller went with a friend to Drury Lane one night, he was refused admittance, although he had as a dramatic author long been on the list of those who were free of the house, and although the doorkeeper knew perfectly well who he was. Dodsley somewhat naturally demanded an explanation. Garrick denied that he had given any orders to the doorkeeper. Several letters passed between the two men, and Dodsley was preparing to accept the actor's explanation, when a further investigation showed him that the suspicions he had formed were not altogether ill-founded. Herein appears the first tangible sign of the impending quarrel. Dodsley wrote plainly to Garrick, determined to discover the truth.

' Oct. 18th [1756].

' SIR,

' When I was refus'd admittance into your Theater, by a Box-Keeper who declar'd he knew me, but that my Name was not in the list of those who had the freedom of y<sup>e</sup> House; and when I desir'd Mr Verney who was w<sup>th</sup> me to assure him that I was free, and Mr Verney refus'd to give him that assurance; what had I to suppose but that You had given orders I should not be admitted? In this supposition I met two of your friends, to whom I mention'd what had happen'd and my suspicions that you was concern'd in it, on purpose that it might come to your ear, and give you an opportunity of setting me right if I was mistaken. A day or two afterwards I mention'd it to another of your friends, for the same purpose, and to no one else have I open'd my lips about it: and when I receiv'd assurance from you by this last Gentleman, that you had given no orders of that kind; my answer was, that I could easily believe you had not, and that your denial of it entirely convinc'd me the fault was only in y<sup>e</sup> Door-keepers. Here I thought an end had been put to this trifling affair: but it seems this straw was to be catch'd at, in order to give You an opportunity of shewing the continuance of your unaccountable resentment. But I pass over in silence y<sup>e</sup> harsh and indelicate Expressions in your present and former Letter. I cannot yet bring my self to return them; but have still endeavour'd to remember tho' you forget, we once were friends. And if ever I should be oblig'd



to appeal to the Public on the treatment I have receiv'd, be assur'd, tho' I may be as you insinuate, the *lowest* Author of the Stage, you shall have nothing to fear either from my *Meanness* or *Injustice*; as I trust I shall always preserve my Character as clear from such imputations as that of Mr Garrick."

If Garrick in reality had spoken of Dodsley as 'the lowest author of the stage,' he had been guilty of a particularly mean action. He was ever a snob, but must have known that the bookseller had never denied his earlier career as a servant. Yet the suggestion that he was not very pleased at the idea of producing a tragedy written by an ex-footman, absurd though it may be, seems to find support in a letter written two months after this date by Warburton to his satellite Hurd. 'I tell Garrick,' he says there, 'he grows wanton, like Sir Epicure Mammon, who would have none but Doctors to furnish out his entertainments. A Doctor of Divinity [John Brown] ushered in Barbarossa, a Doctor of Laws has lately restored Amphitryon: and, as Dodsley now presses him to take a Tragedy of his fashion, I advise him to insist upon the Bookseller's being previously made Doctor of Physic, at least, at Edinburgh.' Whatever may have been the primal cause of Garrick's resentment against the author of *Cleone*, there are at least two reasons which help to explain his refusal. In the first place, the part of Siffroy, in which he would have had to appear, is not a large part, and in the second the part of Cleone herself would have had to be given to Mrs

Cibber, of whom Garrick was becoming increasingly jealous. And so, after some hesitation, the play was returned to the bookseller, and Dodsley's spirits sank. 'As to my tragedy,' he tells Shenstone in the second week of December, 'Mr Garrick has absolutely refus'd it, and therefore any alteration or improvements I may have made since You saw it, are I suppose to very little purpose. However, I still continue to file and polish now and then, and have also made some small alterations in the conduct. I have strengthen'd Glanville's Motives to his Villainy, and made him not proceed so far in his attempt upon Cleone. I have alter'd the scene, in the 3<sup>d</sup> Act which You objected to, where her murder was attempted; and believe I may have added here and there some touches to the pathetic.' He still hoped, however, that Garrick might change his mind. Apparently there were rumours to this effect, but no word came, and Dodsley confined to his chair by 'the most lasting fit of the gout he ever underwent' daily grew less sanguine. 'As to poor Cleone,' he writes on Dec. 30th, to Graves, whose Epilogue has now undergone alteration at Shenstone's hands, 'Mr Garrick's refusal to take her into his House, and give her a legal Settlement in Drury Lane, has thrown me into a state of absolute Vagrancy; and whether she will ever find a settled habitation is very difficult to say. She meets with many Admirers 'tis true, but few friends; all pity, but none help her, 'tis in the little World of the Theater, as in y<sup>e</sup> Great; none rise but by favour, and Cleone hath not been so happy as to find any in his

eyes to whom she made her addresses. Yet this, 'he continues rather lugubriously,' is the *chef d'œuvre* of that Author whom you have taken it into your head so lavishly to adorn with unmerited Panegyrick. The Master of *Tully's Head* is extreamly oblig'd to you that in his present humbled and mortify'd state, you would vouchsafe to spend a thought upon him. It is a great comfort to a poor author, when his wisdom is despis'd and his words not heard in one place to find that they are deem'd worthy of praise and honour. But why, dear Sir, in so high and exalted a strain? Rank'd with Tully—crown'd by Cæsar—plac'd in the Temple—indeed I am afraid we are much too high here.<sup>1</sup> You have strain'd the Peg of Compliment till there is no harmony in the string. However it is certainly very pretty, and I heartily wish it was more just. It must be my endeavour to make it so, by striving to live and write up to your ideas of me.'

During the winter Dodsley relieved his feelings by writing what must be given the point of honour among his shorter pieces. This was an Ode entitled *Melpomene; or The Regions of Terror and Pity*, which may be considered here as it hints at his own failure with *Cleone*. This poem was issued anonymously in November 1757, and with few exceptions, not even Dodsley's friends, knew who the author might be. One hears of it first in a letter of Dodsley's to his friend William Melmoth the younger, dated Jan. 27th, 1757, and again two or three weeks later, when he is sending the first draft, not then written as an ode,

<sup>1</sup> See Graves' verses at the beginning of the book.

to Shenstone. 'You must think me a most absurd fellow,' he writes on this occasion, 'that at the very time I am waiting with great impatience for some of your Pieces. . . . I should think of troubling You with a trifle of my own, but,' he adds, 'as I intend in case it be publish'd to lie quite conceal'd, I do not chuse to shew it to anyone here.' Shenstone urged him to make considerable alterations. 'His excursion,' he writes to Graves in March, 'into the Regions of Terror and Pity is not the only instance of his ability to compose verses in the midst of pain. . . . I think his subject capable of furnishing extraordinary beauties for an *Ode*: and such, I think, he should call it; dropping the narrative parts and the connexions as much as possible. I cannot wish him to print it without very material alterations, and what would occasion almost the same trouble as it would require to rewrite it. I do not mean this as a condemnation of what he has already done, so much as a proof of my opinion how much he will be able to improve it. After all,' he adds, with some qualms, 'it will scarce affect me half so much as his Tragedy. He is so honest a man, that the work he has to give the world is much better than the specimen: or, to borrow an idea from my situation, the grain that he has to deliver will prove much better than the sample. It is with shame I acknowledge I have not yet sent him his Epilogue; and I feel the greater compunction of mind upon this score, as it is possible he may impute my neglect to Garrick's refusal of his play. This weighs nothing with you or me; a thousand motives

may affect a Manager that have little or nothing to do with the merit of the performance ; yet he may so far thank Mr Garrick, that whatever his refusal takes from the reputation of his Tragedy, it will, through Dodsley's industry, add apparently to its value.'

Dodsley duly took his friend's advice, and changed his verses into the form of an Ode. This, when it appeared, enjoyed a great and deserving success. Gray, who had no very high opinions of Dodsley's literary abilities, admitted to Mason that he liked it, and requested him to find out the author. 'I suspect Mr Bedinfield,' he writes, 'Montagu, young Pitt, or Delap. Do say I like it.' Whereupon Mason, having discovered the secret, replied that Mr Dodsley himself was the author. Gray seems to have been rather dismayed. 'I thank you,' he writes, 'for your history of *Melpomene*, which is curious and ought to be remembered ; the judgment of knowing ones ought always to be on record, that they may be suffered to retract and mitigate their applause,' and then he adds rather cryptically, though possibly thinking of Garrick's unaccountable behaviour, 'if I were Dodsley, I would sue them, and they should buckle my shoe in Westminster Hall.'

Gray was not the only writer eager to learn the author's identity. Bishop Lowth professed warm admiration for the merits of the Ode, and was about to ask Dodsley for information, when the bookseller let out his secret. 'I did not apprehend any danger,' he writes, shortly after the poem appeared, 'in



corresponding with You; but I am afraid I shall grow so proud and conceited on your opinion of my Ode, that my friends will not be able to bear my society: and you will have the sin to answer for of having made me a bad man, by endeavouring to persuade me that I am (in this instance at least) a good Poet. To confess the truth, I have long been an admirer of the fair Melpomene, of late had made my addresses to her with some assiduity, and flatter'd by my friends, that thro' the intrest of one Cleone a retainer of hers, I had made some impression on her heart, I thought my self on a fair way of gaining her good graces. But the King of her Country, being inform'd by the said Cleone of my design on his favorite Melpomene forbade my entrance into his Dominions on pain of Damnation, deem'd my humble spirit audacious and presuming, and dismiss'd poor Cleone from his presence with visible marks of unkindness and disgrace. Piqued at the repulse, I publish'd my Ode on Terror and Pity, to shew y<sup>e</sup> World my pretensions, and to let the Tyrant see, tho' he scorn'd my offers, that the Lady had not disdain'd to admit me into some of her secret Misteries. But as I must endeavour to suppress my Passion, the best way is to talk of it as little as possible.'

Some astonishment was afterwards expressed at the non-inclusion of *Melpomene* in the last volumes of Dodsley's *Collection of Poems*, and it was then that Berenger wrote the few verses for the *London Chronicle* which effectively removed the anonymity.

' You ask why in that garland fair,  
 Where various sweets abound,  
 A certain flow'r of merit rare  
 Is no where to be found ?

Why the same florist thought not meet  
 To give that bloom its due ?  
 Since none can odours yield more sweet,  
 Or boast a brighter hue.

Then know, the modest swain, my friend,  
 Who curl'd those flow'rs so gay ;  
 Meant others worth to recommend,  
 And not his own display.

But if this blooming wreath had been  
 Twin'd by another's care ;  
 Dodsley, thy flow'r we then had seen  
 Shining distinguish'd there.'

Dodsley replied as follows :

' Yes, yes, my friend, my heart I own  
 Was weak, was vain enough to 've shewn  
 That ode amongst its betters ;  
 But Prudence whisper'd in my ear,  
 Be diffident, nor press so near  
 To rank with men of letters.

Aim not in that selected wreath,  
 Where buds of sweetest odours breath,  
 To mix thy fainter blooms ;  
 Nor dare to place with flow'rs so bright,  
 Pale hemlock, and cold aconite,  
 To poison their perfumes.

Abash'd I listen'd, yet obey'd  
 The friendly voice, and to the shade  
 Melpomene was driven ;  
 But mark the event, 'tis hence she shines,  
 With lustre from your partial lines  
 Her own could ne'er have given.'

Mrs Elizabeth Montagu of Blue-Stocking fame was another critic who expressed her delight at Dodsley's *Ode*. She wrote to tell him so. 'My Vanity,' replies Dodsley, 'is extreamly gratify'd in your approbation, and I am very sensible how much its being countenanced by a Person of Your acknowledg'd Taste, must tend to give a favourable impression of its Merit to others, and I beg You will do me the further favour of accepting the Piece to which You have done so much Honour.'

Two or three stanzas from *Melpomene* may be quoted alike for themselves and their bearing upon the poet's disappointment with *Cleone* :

'Aw'd into silence, my rapt soul attends—  
 The Power, with eyes complacent, saw my fear,  
 And, as with grace ineffable she bends,  
 These accents vibrate on my listening ear.  
     " Aspiring son of art,  
     Know, tho' thy feeling heart  
 Glow with these wonders to thy fancy shown,  
 Still may the Delian God thy powerless toils disown.

A thousand tender scenes of soft distress  
 May swell thy breast with sympathetic woes ;  
 A thousand such dread forms of fancy press,  
 As from my dreary realms of darkness rose ;  
     Whence Shakespeare's chilling fears,  
     Whence Otway's melting tears—  
 That awful gloom, this melancholy plain,  
 The types of every theme that suits the Tragic strain.

But dost thou worship Nature night and morn,  
 And all due honour to her precepts pay ?  
 Canst thou the lure of Affectation scorn,  
     Pleas'd in the simpler paths of Truth to stray ?  
     Hast thou the Graces fair  
     Invok'd with ardent prayer ?  
 'Tis they attire, as Nature must impart,  
 The sentiment sublime, the language of the heart.

Then if creative Genius pour his ray,  
 Warm with inspiring influence on thy breast ;  
 Taste, judgment, fancy, if thou canst display,  
 And the deep source of Passion stand confest :  
 Then may the listening train,  
 Affected, feel thy strain ;  
 Feel grief or Terror, Rage or Pity move ;  
 Change with the varying scenes, and every scene approve."

In the meantime, Dodsley, in spite of the gout and his disappointment, continued to polish his tragedy, and had the satisfaction of hearing that Garrick would be glad to see the play again. 'I remember to have heard Mr Dodsley declare,' says Davies,<sup>1</sup> 'that after Mr Garrick had given back his play with a positive refusal to act it'—he is said to have called it a cruel, bloody, and unnatural play—'he afterwards sent for *Cleone* once more, with a full intention to give it a re-examination, and a solemn promise to act it, if the tragedy, on a farther perusal, should appear to deserve it.' He was, according to the same authority, 'extremely apprehensive that the public would be of a different opinion from his own. And so we have a letter from Dodsley to Garrick, dated June 17th, 1757, in which he offers his tragedy again.

'SIR,

'Having made very numerous and some considerable alterations in my Play since You saw it ; having been inform'd that You are not unwilling to give it a second reading in company with some of our common friends, I take the liberty of letting you know, that I am very ready to submit it to such a

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Garrick*, 1780, §Vol. I. p. ¶216.

perusal. But as I flatter my self you may possibly find most of your former objections now remov'd would it not be more agreeable to You to give it another reading first alone? If it would, I will send it to You whenever you find your self at leisure.'

And so the play was once again sent on its travels, and—once again refused. Whereupon Dodsley departed upon his usual summer holiday. He left London on July 21st in company with the Baskerville family, and after a short sojourn at Baskerville's house in Birmingham, went to the Leasowes, where his tragedy underwent still further revision. At the end of August he was back at the *Tully's Head*, still apparently hoping for the best. He writes his thanks for Shenstone's hospitality, and '*Cleone*,' he says, 'also makes her Compliments, thanks you for the Improvements she receiv'd under your correction, seeks to hold up her head mightily upon some little Commendations which You were pleas'd to flatter her with, and is vain and silly enough, poor creature, to fancy you might possibly be in earnest.' Still, apparently there is hope, but by the end of September he has to write despondingly to Shenstone: 'Mr Garrick has finally rejected *Cleone*: so instead of dying of Grief, she may go hang her self in Despair. Or rather,' he adds ruefully, 'ought not the Author to be hang'd, for wasting so much time to so little purpose? But he is penitent, and will do so no more.' There is another and even more doleful mention of the play in a letter to Graves, written on Oct. 24th. 'Your mention of *Cleone*,' writes the poet, now



once again unable to move from his chair, 'is very kind, as she is a poor neglected creature whom nobody regards inasmuch that she sometimes splenatically talks of shutting her self up in the cloyster of a Beaureau and avoiding all commerce with mankind. Whether her merits were sufficient to have qualify'd her for shining in y<sup>e</sup> public eye, I am by no means a proper judge; but if, in y<sup>e</sup> state of obscurity to which she is condemn'd, she still preserve a few such judges as You to think of her with kindness and to regret her fate; whatever may be her other deficiencies I hope she will always have Modesty enough to think her self highly honour'd.'

There seems no doubt but that Garrick was conscious of making a mistake in refusing the tragedy, and the freely expressed opinions of some of Dodsley's more powerful friends caused him considerable uneasiness. 'He had,' says Davies, 'in common with other managers, his passions and prejudices, which sometimes warped his judgment, and led him to decide improperly on the merits of plays. And,' he adds, 'his inclination to temporize, I believe, was often productive of delays and excuses, which ended with a disappointment to the author, and a quarrel in consequence ensued, which a more decisive conduct might have prevented.' So in the preceding year he had refused the *Douglas* of John Home, and in 1759 was to reject Arthur Murphy's *Orphan of China*, both of which had much success. So too, with *Cleone*, although, as Davies records, it had been 'read and approved by Dr Johnson,' Garrick temporized, finally refused—and



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DAVID GARRICK  
(From a rare print published in 1779)



quarrelled with its author. There were those, however, who endeavoured to patch up the quarrel. In particular Thomas Gataker, a surgeon at Charing Cross Hospital, and author of several successful medical pamphlets which Dodsley had published, may be mentioned. Gataker offered his services to the bookseller, but Dodsley, very naturally, was none too eager to be the first to extend a hand. He explained his position in a letter to the surgeon, dated Nov. 4th, 1757.

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ Your kind offer to mediate a reconciliation between Mr Garrick and me I look upon as proceeding from your mutual regard to us both, and for my part, I am much oblig’d to You for it. I have no objection to a renewal of that friendship which subsisted for so many years between us; on the contrary You know I have regretted the loss of it, both on his own account and on account of many friends with whom we are both connected. But however desirous I might be of renewing a friendship with so agreeable a man as Mr Garrick, I cannot meanly seek it, as he well knows I was not the first who sought y<sup>e</sup> quarrel, and as I cannot help thinking my self y<sup>e</sup> injur’d person. I will explain what I mean by this last, as he will probably say he has done me no injury, having a right to act or refuse whatever he may think proper. No doubt he has such a right, and I only mean that I suffer a consequential injury, as the public will be very apt to imagine a Play refus’d, is a Play unworthy to be acted. Now I had some

reason to hope that y<sup>e</sup> Tragedy in question was not of this kind, having shewn it to several of the very best judges persons of acknowledg'd taste and abilities, amongst y<sup>e</sup> circle of my acquaintance from whom I receiv'd such testimonies in its favour, w<sup>ch</sup> you shall see whenever you please, as gave me fair ground if not to expect its success, at least to flatter my self that it would have been thought worthy of a trial, especially as I look'd upon Mr Garrick as my particular friend. I will not at present repeat the manner in which all these hopes were frustrated, because I am willing to bury in oblivion every disagreeable circumstance that has past between us. You tell me Mr Garrick is in the same disposition ; it will give me great pleasure to find him so far in earnest, as to accept of the following Proposal. If Mr Garrick will act the Tragedy of *Cleone*, in the manner I intended it to be cast, any time betwixt now and y<sup>e</sup> latter end of Feb<sup>ry</sup> either this year or the next, I will agree to give up all right to any profits that may arise from y<sup>e</sup> author's nights in case of its success : that is, the profits of the 3<sup>d</sup> Night shall be appropriated to y<sup>e</sup> use of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures & Commerce ; of the 6<sup>th</sup> night, to the Foundling Hospital, and of y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> night to whatsoever public use Mr Garrick shall think proper.'

As might have been expected, however, Garrick would not fall in with such a suggestion, and Gataker's well-meant proposal came to nothing.

After that it was impossible to suppose that the



tragedy would ever appear on the stage of Drury Lane, and so we find Dodsley taking other measures for its production. Hitherto there had been many reasons against offering a tragedy to Mr Rich at Covent Garden. This theatre, as has been said, was unfashionable, and its company second-rate. The newspapers of the time are full of contemptuous allusions to the manager's numerous failures. One, published in the *London Chronicle* on Nov. 12th, 1757, may be given ; it is typical of the rest.

‘ Why how now, Friend Lun ?  
At length quite undone ;  
Will nothing from indolence free you ?  
‘Sblood Man ! skip about  
Bring something NEW out,  
And then we will all come to see you.’

And Rich, indeed, seems to have recognized that the time had come to make an effort. Towards the end of November, 1757, he engaged Barry and Mrs Bellamy—two notable acquisitions—and produced several of Shakespeare's plays. Even then, however, there were frequent riots in the theatre, and few of the patrons of the *Lane* would venture inside. The situation is succinctly described by a dramatic critic of the time. ‘ When this house,’ he writes, ‘ is no longer infested by the over-heated partizans of a celebrated performer on the one hand, and by scene-drawers, butchers, underacters and bruizers, on the other, I shall then venture to look in here for some theatrical intelligence ; till then *valeat res ludicra*.’ But Rich's enterprise in securing two popular performers put a new complexion upon affairs, and

Dodsley for one prepared to approach Garrick's rival. He wrote in the first instance to Lord Chesterfield :

Dec. 19th [1757].

' MY LORD,

' The consequences of Good - nature are too frequently troublesome. Relieve a beggar at your gate, and you are sure to find him there again. Your Lordship's favourable opinion of *Cleone*, has encouraged me to solicit a boon in her behalf, which if it be not improper for your Lordship to grant, will certainly be of great service to me. As Mr Rich has at last engag'd Mr Barry and Miss Bellamy at his house, I have determin'd to offer my Tragedy to him ; but am advis'd to strengthen my application with a line from some great person whose opinion would have weight & consequence with him. Your Lordship's favourable sentiments signify'd by a Line for me to take to Mr Rich, as it would do me great honour, I am convinc'd would also give me so much credit with him, that he would at least be favourably dispos'd towards receiving it. I would not have presum'd to trouble your Lordship with a letter on this occasion, but am advis'd to be [as] expeditious as may be in my application, as 'tis expected some thing else will be offer'd him.'

Lord Chesterfield appears to have exerted himself on the bookseller's behalf, and on Jan. 5th, Dodsley had the satisfaction of telling his patron that an arrangement had been arrived at. ' I have delay'd

my acknowledgments,' he writes, 'of y<sup>e</sup> Honour your Lordship did me in giving your Opinion of *Cleone*, till I could obtain a definite answer from Mr Rich, w<sup>ch</sup> I have not been able to do till yesterday. He tells me his Engagements will not permit him to perform it this season, but promises it shall be done if I think proper at the beginning of the next. To this I have acquiesc'd, provided Mr Barry and Miss Bellamy continue with him; but if they leave him I can by no means think of venturing it at his house.' On the next day he is writing again to Rich: 'I have so many reasons,' he urges, 'to wish my Play may be brought on this season rather than the next; and am so prest by many people of Consequence who are desirous of seeing it, from the favourable character that has been given of it . . . that I cannot avoid once more desiring it as a favour, if you are not so circumstanc'd as to render it quite impossible, that you would comply w<sup>th</sup> my request in bringing it on now. . . . I have reason to think,' he adds naively, 'that many people whom you would wish to oblige will be pleas'd at your compliance with this request, & will endeavour that it may turn out to your own advantage as well as mine.' Mr Rich, however, had made other plans, with the result that another year passed before the public was enabled to form its judgment of this much discussed tragedy.

Some of Dodsley's friends do not appear to have been overjoyed to hear that he was giving his play to Rich. 'I have some thoughts,' he writes to Shenstone in a letter dated Oct. 10th, 1758, 'of bringing on

my play at Covent Garden : but this some of my friends tell me will only be changing the risk of its Damnation by the Town, into y<sup>e</sup> certainty of its murder by the Actors. What a damn'd thing it is to have written a Play !

‘ Were I to curse the man whom most I hate,  
On Managers & Actors let him wait.’

Four days later the matter is settled. ‘ Since last I wrote,’ he informs Shenstone, ‘ I have absolutely fixt with Mr Rich for the acting of my Play : it is going immediately into Rehearsal, & must be acted at the latter end of next month.’ The epilogue, he adds, does not altogether please him. Will Shenstone write him another ? Perhaps the present one is not spirited enough, and yet — perhaps it is. By Oct. 24th, indeed, he has decided that a more spirited one could not exist ; he is only afraid of ‘ affronting the Boxes.’ ‘ I have endeavoured to shorten it,’ he explains, and his letter breathes out the excitement that is slowly creeping upon him, now that success is within reach, ‘ and if you can soften the Conclusion, or change the last four lines into a Compliment to the ladies, I think the whole will do extreamly well. I would not,’ he continues, ‘ by any means lose the Satire of it, as it is strong, spirited, and just : but a sugar-plumb at the close, may sweeten it on y<sup>e</sup> palate, & prevent it from rising upon their stomachs. The play is in rehearsal, and is intended to appear on the 18th of next month.’ Apparently Shenstone did not express too great an enthusiasm about a pro-

duction at Covent Garden, and Dodsley was forced to explain his position. 'There was no probability,' he writes at the beginning of November, 'of my Play being ever receiv'd by Mr Garrick; I had therefore no alternative, but either to suppress it, print it unacted, or try it at Covent Garden. What will be the event I know not, but my friends give me hopes, and y<sup>e</sup> Performers like it, & seem inclin'd to take pains with it. M<sup>rs</sup> Bellamy is my Cleone, & I hope she will do it very well. Rehearsals,' he adds, 'are yet but very imperfect, but I think the performance will be much better than I expected.' Shenstone was still not altogether satisfied. 'His play,' he writes to Graves at the end of the month, 'comes on . . . at Covent Garden. What he says in behalf of this step is, that there was no glimpse of probability, that Garrick would ever admit it at the other house. . . . I suppose he acts by Lord Chesterfield's opinion: for I know when he was going to print it (since he came home) with a proper dedication to Mr Garrick, my lord then prevented him, telling him it would be acted one day or other.' In this letter there is further reference to the much-discussed epilogue, and from this one understands how, when it was printed, Shenstone's name and not Graves's came to be attached. 'You,' says Shenstone, 'would not care to own it: and he would fain have *me*; but I think neither of us should run the risk, where so little honour is to be acquired; yet Mr Melmoth's name to the prologue is an inducement.' William Melmoth the younger, then well-known, under his pseudonym of



Sir Thomas Fitzosborne, for his *Letters on Several Subjects* and for the interesting translations of Cicero and Pliny which had appeared under his own name, had gone out of his way to help Dodsley in the matter of *Cleone*, and his prologue makes amusing reading.

In the meantime Garrick himself had not been wholly idle. Somewhat foolishly he had not kept his opinion to himself, and as Mrs Bellamy has recorded, publicly prophesied its certain damnation the night before the production. In order, however, to minimize its chance of success, he elected on the very night chosen for the first representation at Covent Garden, to appear for the first time as Marplot in the *Busybody*, thus hoping to draw the town. That this was no mere coincidence is sufficiently proved by the fact that when it was known that the production of *Cleone* had been put off for a few nights, his own production at Drury Lane was similarly postponed.

The instantaneous success of the tragedy, performed for the first time on Saturday evening, Dec. 2nd, must have come as something of a blow to him, more particularly as he was not very successful himself as Marplot. News of the triumphant scenes at the rival theatre was brought to him immediately, and on the following morning he wrote to Dodsley somewhat fulsomely offering his congratulations :

‘ Sunday Morning.

‘ DEAR SIR,

‘ I most sincerely congratulate you upon your

success last night. I heard with much concern, that some of your friends, particularly Mr Melmoth, were angry with me for playing the *Busybody* against your Tragedy: this, I think, is very hard upon me, for I am certain that your house was far from receiving any injury from ours—however, if you will call upon me, and let me know how I can support your interest without absolutely giving up my own, I will do it; for whatever you or your friends may think, I am, most sincerely,

‘Your well-wisher and humble servant,

‘DAVID GARRICK.’

As might be expected, Dodsley, not ignorant of the scene two nights before at the Bedford coffee-house, could not but answer with subdued scorn:

‘Dec. 5th.

‘SIR,

‘I thank you for your Compliments on the success of *Cleone*, and could have wish’d you had thought proper to have put it in my power to have thank’d you for contributing towards it: but I think it is not now in your own to redress the injury you have done me. You know full well that profit was but my second motive for bringing this piece on the Stage, and you have taken effectual care to nip its Reputation in the bud, by preventing y<sup>e</sup> Town, so far as lay in your power, from attending to it. As to my proposing any means in which you can now be of service to me, I hope you do not think, that after what has past, I can possibly bring myself to ask a

favour of you. In short, if your behaviour to me has been right, I see no cause you have to be concern'd about it ; if wrong, why was it so ? I am certain I gave you no provocation for it. I therefore leave it on your self to pursue what measures you may think most consistent with your own reputation ; as to mine, you have certainly in this instance done all you could to lessen it. However, I beg you will believe it is with some regret I feel I cannot at present subscribe my self with that cordiality I have always wish'd to be, Sir

‘ Your friend and Servant,

‘ RDODSLEY.’

Whereupon Garrick sent his much-quoted letter, which effectually terminated the correspondence.

‘ MASTER ROBERT DODSLEY,

‘ When I first read your peevish answer to my well meant proposal to you, I was much disturb'd at it—but when I consider'd that some minds cannot bear the smallest portion of Success, I sincerely pity'd you ; and when I found in y<sup>e</sup> same letter, that you were graciously pleas'd to dismiss me from y<sup>r</sup> acquaintance ; I could not but confess so apparent an Obligation, & am w<sup>th</sup> due Acknowledgm<sup>ts</sup>,

‘ Master Robert Dodsley,

‘ y<sup>r</sup> most oblig'd,

‘ D. G——’

The Drury Lane Manager might think what he liked—there was only one verdict about *Cleone* ; it was a tremendous success. On the Monday morning

a congratulatory letter appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, and it was the first of many. 'It would be an act of Injustice,' says the writer, 'to Truth and Merit, not publickly to declare the uncommon Satisfaction I had last night at the Theatre in Covent Garden in enjoying the most refined and human Pleasure, and by which we approach nearest to Divinity, to wit, that of shedding Tears for the misfortunes of others. . . . This most pathetic Piece . . . breathes throughout but the purest morality, & that must have flowed from a thoroughly honest heart. . . . If all love of Virtue be not entirely lost among us this new Tragedy must meet with the universal Encouragement of the British Public which it so justly deserves. The performers,' adds the writer, 'did justice to the piece.' Dr Johnson, in a letter to Bennet Langton, gives a more personal description. '*Cleone*,' he writes, 'was well acted by all the characters, but Bellamy left nothing to be desired. I went the first night, and supported it as best I might; for Doddy, you know, is my patron, and I would not desert him. The play was well received. Doddy, after the danger was over, went every night to the stage side, and cried at the distress of poor *Cleone*.' Dodsley's tears, indeed, have become historic, for they are mentioned in a poem of Churchill's. The Muses therein are asked to woo Gray modestly, 'doze' with Glover, and 'bleat' with Mason, and, continues the poet in exhortation:

'Let them with Dodsley wail *Cleone*'s woes,  
 Whilst he, fine feeling creature, all in tears,  
 Melts as they melt, and weeps with weeping Peers,'

alluding, of course, to Chesterfield and Lyttelton. It will be noticed that Dr Johnson mentions his refusal to desert his patron, a fact which seems to point to Garrick's attempted interference. There is another sentence in the same letter which supports this idea. 'The two Wartons,' he writes, 'just looked into the town, and were taken to see *Cleone*, where David Garrick says, they were starved for want of company to keep them warm.' We know, however, from the newspapers, that each night saw an increase in the audience, and the play was performed fourteen times before the end of the year.

The sentiments of the writer in the *Public Advertiser* were widely shared. On the following day there appeared a long communication on the same subject, signed Atticus, in the *London Chronicle*, of which one or two lines may be given. 'The public are . . . indebted to Mr Dodsley for giving us Mr Pope's favourite subject; the more especially as he has laid the circumstances in a manner so affecting and interesting, that they brought tears from every eye in the theatre on the first night of its representation. . . . I had [at Covent Garden] a pleasure, which the theatre has not afforded me this great while; I mean the pleasure of relieving heartfelt anguish by a flood of tears. . . . The language is not so laboured and metaphorical as the theatrical diction has been of late years; to elevate and surprise was not the aim of the author. To move the heart with the natural strokes of an Otway rather than of a Rowe, seems to have been the intention of Mr Dodsley; and the tears



that poured forth on the occasion, are the best evidences that he has not mistaken his talents. I should not,' he concludes, 'have been so profuse of my praise, were I not convinced from the uproar of applause given to Mrs Bellamy when she came on to speak the epilogue, that I have here delivered the sentiments of the entire audience.'

'*The Tragedy of Cleone*,' writes another critic two or three days later, 'has gained strength every night. The pathetic powers of the author having been felt by many persons of distinguished taste, the ladies now begin to revolt against fashion and to send for places to this long neglected Theatre.' Dodsley, however, was not allowed to enjoy his triumph unmolested. On Tuesday, Dec. 4th, a scurrilous pamphlet, purporting to be a 'proper directory,' and entitled *An Account of the New Tragedy of Cleone*, made its appearance. It was published anonymously, but was speedily found to be the work of the notorious Dr Hill. 'Sir' John Hill was one of the most extraordinary characters of the century. 'Actor, Inspector, Doctor, Botanist,' Churchill calls him, and, indeed, one can only wonder at his amazing assiduity. Had he kept to his botany, he might have gained some reputation as a careful scientist: as it was his feverish and continued attempts to obtain success by more methods than one effectively denied him any right to serious consideration. He enjoyed, however, some considerable patronage, and was knighted by the King of Sweden. At this time he was well-known for his *Inspectors*, a series of Essays published first in the

*Daily Advertiser*, and might have been expected to know something of the stage and its traditions ; but his pamphlet upon *Cleone* contains nothing but the most foolish and ill-balanced remarks, couched in language that is at once coarse and ungrammatical, and obviously insincere. ‘ You ask me,’ writes Dodsley to Shenstone in January, ‘ who is the Author of the Remarks upon it [*Cleone*]. Dr Hill, the precipitate Dr Hill ; who came to see it acted on Saturday night, wrote his criticism on Sunday, printed it on Monday, and with great good nature publish’d it on Tuesday morning . . . such was the industry in prejudicing the town against it. But he did not miss his reward ; Mr Garrick brought on for him, some days afterwards, the Farce call’d *The Rout*, which was damn’d the second Night.’ Now the production of Dr Hill’s ridiculous play, *The Rout*, at Drury Lane, helped not a little to give Dodsley the sympathy of the town, more particularly when it became known that Hill had written so malignant a pamphlet against the tragedy. The facts are these. *The Rout* had originally been advertised to have been written for the benefit of a particular charity by a person of honour,<sup>1</sup> who required none of the profits that might

<sup>1</sup> A pronouncement which led to the following lines :

UPON THE FARCE OF ‘THE ROUT,’ WRITTEN BY A PERSON  
OF HONOUR

‘ Says a friend to the Doctor, pray give it about  
That your farce is not yours, or you’ll miss of the pelf ;  
What had come of your nerves, or your pox, or your gout,  
How these embryos crawl’d forth as begot by yourself ?

accrue from its representation. A little later, however, Dr Hill was making very wholehearted attempts to secure for himself any profits there might be, and in fact he made himself so unpleasant that Garrick, who must have regretted his connection with the farce, retaliated in a much quoted epigram :

' For physic and farces, his equal there scarce is,  
His farce is a physic, his physic a farce is.'

There can be little doubt, however, that he and the doctor must have come to some agreement over the production of *The Rout*, more especially as there is clear evidence to show that the farce had been accepted for representation at Drury Lane *before* the particular charity's urgent needs had been advertised. And indeed it seems not improbable that Garrick had sent Dr Hill to Covent Garden in order that a damaging statement about the tragedy might be printed without delay. The public, however, was not taken in by so obviously ill-natured an account. The critic in the *London Chronicle* speaks of it as a 'malevolent *vade mecum*' which 'totally missed its aim. It may,' he observes, 'indeed, gratify the person [Garrick] for whose use it was principally written ; But it will never justify his refusal of a piece, which, had it been acted at Drury Lane, would in some degree, have compensated for all the bawdy that has been there exhibited. But,' he continues, 'as malevolence

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Let your Muse as your pamphlets come forth (I advise ye)  
Like a goddess of old with a cloud cast upon her.  
You're right, quoth the Doctor, and more to disguise me,  
I'll give myself out for a *Person of Honour*.'

generally carries its own punishment with it, we are glad to hear that the fatality of a Farce hangs over this man's head, and if Mr Dodsley is at all vindictive in any degree, he will have a fair opportunity of returning him the compliment, by publishing a few hints proper for those who intend to see Dulness wrapped in the veil of Charity at Drury Lane.'

As might have been expected, Dodsley did not allow Dr Hill's pamphlet to appear without some remonstrance, though of what nature this was, is unknown. 'The whole town,' he tells Shenstone, 'has been unanimous in blaming Mr Garrick for his behaviour in this affair, and it has occasion'd another quarrel between him and me, the particulars of which are too long for a letter.' 'David and Doddy,' writes Dr Johnson, apparently with some amusement, 'have had another quarrel, and cannot, I think, conveniently quarrel any more.' Dodsley's own words are borne out by several pamphlets which appeared in answer to Dr Hill's remarks. A letter to Garrick, which was appended to one of them, may be quoted. It is written in a vein of sarcasm, and succinctly describes the position of affairs.

'Ill-natured fame,' says the writer, who disguises himself under the initials F. S., 'that antagonist of genuine merit and great abilities, whispers the *Busy Body* has been acted to very slender pecuniary houses, and that quires of orders have been circulated to indulge Marplot's vanity, and keep the secret of his importance. But the thing has been characteristically divulged, and the world, strange to tell, is not

much disinclined to believe it. These ill-natured reports are, however, difficult to reconcile with the theatrical memoirs of this season. "Unavoidable engagements obliged the manager to represent the *Busy Body* for the first time, the first night of *Cleone's* exhibition : but the author of this tragedy might rely upon nothing being acted at Drury Lane on his benefit nights, that could anyways interrupt his profits." What can more clearly point out that places were long before bespoke for at least a dozen nights' representation ? for it cannot be imagined these unavoidable engagements on the manager's side were made between him and his performers ; nor can it be believed that so great a man could be subscribed to aught but the most incontestable facts. May we not suspect that the pride of a mere bookseller (though indeed one of the first in England) being piqued at having his tragedy rejected, and that the *Busy Body* set up as the opposite candidate for the public's attention, was the cause of these reports to countenance the small attendance upon the heroine ? At least a manager might give credit to this opinion by producing a letter wrote to this effect :

" SIR,

" As you have already exerted your utmost efforts to prevent the success of my play, I beg you would not put yourself to any inconvenience on my benefit nights, but act such plays as you think will best turn to your account."

I say, Sir, that any such ill-natured rumours might



easily be attributed to a bookseller, that should have the insolence to write such a letter to so great a man, and so respectable a character as the manager of a theatre, universally acknowledged the greatest actor in Christendom. It were useless to enter into the private character of such a plebeian, who might, perhaps, be universally thought an honest man, and far above any such low artifice.

‘ With respect to the tragedy of *Cleone* itself, your refusal of which has made some noise in the circle of criticism, it certainly was a most stupid performance, and not fit for the stage, otherwise we may reasonably suppose you would have shown it that favour which Drury Lane so justly owes to *Melpomene*. And yet this might have been doubted by the author, after your long attention to it, and primary approbation. But what could he expect, when your hands were so full? Four pieces to bring out this season! which, I suppose, consisted of *Morning Diversions* (a hodge-podge of two acts, taken from two ridiculous pieces, which the town had years before been tired with, cooked up with a scene of insolent mimicry and extravagant buffoonery), *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Æsop*, and the *Rout*.

‘ But, by the bye, the last only is new, and Mr D——y was to look upon that as the sole competitor for fame with his tragedy. No wonder, Sir, you should give the preference to this inimitable piece—I mean the *Rout*; and that the gay, the humourous, the witty Mr Feeble should find admittance when the dull sobbing *Cleone* was banished. The literati have

as usual rectified your opinion in the choice, and with me greatly commend your judgment. Had Mr D——y been acquainted with the merits of the *Rout*, he would not have been displeased at your returning his piece, in order to make way for it. This is his only apology for the hasty letter he wrote you, and I am well informed, since his reading the new farce, he is thoroughly convinced of his error, and with a face of pure contrition, fervently recommends it to the perusal of his customers before his own tragedy. . . .

‘The doctor [Hill] . . . surpasses all, but more particularly the drowsy Mr D——y, who, according to his own account, must have been fourteen or fifteen years writing a tragedy, which you so naturally rejected in favour of the most incomparable farce that ever was produced.’

The defenders of Garrick were hard put to it to make out a case, and the best of them was forced to give Dodsley credit for a play above the average. ‘The Tragedy,’ writes one of them, ‘that appeared at the other House last Winter, though the work of a plain man, who pretends to no other qualification as a writer than a natural capacity, unimproved by scholastic erudition, gave sufficient proof that learning is not requisite to make a Shakespeare. I would not by this be understood to mean that Mr Dodsley’s *Cleone* is equal to the work of that father of English dramatic poetry; but only to show, that a good understanding, with a moderate cultivation, may enable a writer to touch the passions, and imitate Nature, without reading one French critic, or knowing

one rule of Aristotle.' It fell to the unenviable lot of Warburton to assuage Garrick's mortification. The actor had apparently written complainingly, and on Jan. 18th, 1759, Warburton replies characteristically. 'Dodsley is a wretched fellow, and no man ever met with a worse return [!] than you have done, for your endeavours to serve him. I deny your position, that scholars and men of ability applauded his trumpery; for, take my word for it, a learned blockhead is a blockhead still. I think the applause given to it by Spence, Lowth and Melmoth was very sincere; and though I hardly think the same of Sir George's [Lyttelton], who is certainly as great a critic as politician, yet I excuse him, for he is like Enobarbus in the play, "he will speak with any body who will speak well of him." As to Master Robert Dodsley, I rate him at his worth; and he being worth nothing, we shall hardly come to a bargain.'

Dodsley, however, could well ignore all attacks. Each succeeding representation was adding to his reputation. The tragedy was repeated every night during the week following the first performance. The change in Dodsley's position can hardly be imagined. From a minor poet he had suddenly sprung into the foremost ranks of contemporary writers. Everybody gathered round him; it was fortunate then that James Dodsley was his partner, for there was little time to attend to business. On Saturday, Dec. 9th, he snatches a moment to write to Shenstone:

' PALL MALL, *Dec.* 9,

' almost 11 at Night.

' I have no Frank.

' DEAR MR SHENSTONE,

' I have not time to say three words, and therefore beg You will not look on this as a Letter, but expect a long one from me in three or four days. At present I can only tell You *Cleone* has been acted this Night for the 7<sup>th</sup> time, & has been receiv'd with great and unanimous applause. Last night y<sup>e</sup> Prince of Wales, Prince Edward, Princess Augusta and three more of the Royal Family were there. Mrs Bellamy has got vast reputation in y<sup>e</sup> Character of *Cleone* & in your Epilogue. My great hurry must excuse all present omissions. I have not been able to think of any thing this month past : I wish you had been there. When your things are ready I will send you & Mr Hylton a book & Mrs Mary.

' I am,

' RDODSLEY.'

On the following Wednesday he is taking his third benefit, and still the audiences are increasing. On the 16<sup>th</sup>, he writes again to Shenstone with all the details of his success. ' I have such a chaos of things in my head to say to You, that I feel it will be impossible to reduce them to any order. . . . This is the 12<sup>th</sup> Night of the Play, & it has been receiv'd with great Indulgence. It has storm'd the Tide of Fashion, which runs very strong against that House ; and has

supported it self against the strength and popularity of Mr Garrick, which have been remarkably exerted against it.' The audiences, he says modestly, 'have not been crowded,' but 'they have been better than have usually appear'd at that House, and sufficient to induce the Manager to carry it on for his own advantage.' Details follow about the printing of the play. A first edition had been published on Dec. 5th, with *Melpomene* and the *Epilogue*. Dodsley regrets that the *Epilogue* had to be printed without a name, although Shenstone seems to have given leave for his name to appear a day or two afterwards. 'The *Epilogue*,' continues Dodsley, 'was receiv'd with great applause, and I wish, for my own credit, your Letter had come time enough for me to have prefixt your Name to y<sup>e</sup> first Edition. However, that Edition, which was 2000, was sold off the first day ; I have printed 2000 more with your Name.'

The continued run of the tragedy seems to have excited universal comment. On the same day that Dodsley was able to tell his friend of the enormous sales which his play was enjoying, the following lines appeared in the *London Chronicle* :

' Hilario, just arriv'd from his estate,  
 Thus answer'd Lucius at St James's gate.  
 " Cleone run twelve nights ! you surely joke."  
 No faith—more serious words I never spoke.  
 " At *Covent Garden* too ; and play'd with spirit !  
 Nay then, 'tis plain, the Tragedy has merit."  
 'Tis true—let Critics ridicule and rail,  
 Nature, in spite of fashion, will prevail.  
 The pitying breast Cleone strongly shakes,  
 And ev'ry spark of tenderness awakes :



Cleone's griefs, distraction, and despair,  
 With various pangs the pitying bosom tear ;  
 And when such griefs by sympathy are felt,  
 The eyes will moisten, and the heart will melt.'

One of Garrick's supporters took up the gauntlet :

' TO MR GARRICK, OCCASION'D BY SOME LATE ATTACKS

' Faith ! Davy, 'spite of your excuse,  
 XX has cause for his abuse ;  
 While your engrossing spirit  
 Exacts applause from every tongue,  
 By every bard your praises sung,  
 Unconscionable merit !

Yet still your foe mistakes his aim,  
 And vainly hopes to blast your fame  
 By each dull labour'd letter ;  
 For when the features all are bright  
 His shades can but relieve the light  
 And make the picture better.'

The run of the tragedy was not yet finished. It was played again on Dec. 23rd and 30th, on Feb. 6th and 24th, April 2nd and May 9th. A third edition was put to press in January, and was issued on April 27th. For this Shenstone sent several suggestions, one in particular for the title-page, on which he proposed that a picture of Mrs Bellamy should be given. The same idea had occurred to Dodsley, who records that a gentleman of his acquaintance 'from the stage Box one night with his pencil made a little sketch of Mrs Bellamy in the very attitude you mention, and he tells me if he can finish it to his mind, he will also sketch it for me for that purpose.' Nothing, however, came of this proposal, as Dodsley rightly considered that 'it might have been considered over-adorn'd.' Instead Hayman was commissioned to design

a frontispiece from the dying scene, 'a very good drawing,' in Dodsley's opinion. Then from a letter of his, dated April 3rd, we learn that 'they are acting *Cleone* at Bath with applause,' and, he adds, 'they have also acted it at York & some other Places.' And so popular had it become that on April 18th, it was actually performed at the theatre in the Haymarket by children not above thirteen years of age. An advertisement of this performance informs us that the tragedy would be accompanied, somewhat incongruously, it is to be feared, 'with entertainments of Singing and Dancing, particularly a Minuet by Miss Valois and Miss Burn,' for whose benefit the play was being repeated. And the theatre, it is added, would be illuminated with wax candles.

Of the tragedy itself, contemporary criticism was, as we have seen, favourable. Chesterfield, Lyttelton, Melmoth and Spence admired it, and the public applauded. Dr Johnson himself praised it, but with qualifications. Bennet Langton told Boswell that when a young man he had read the tragedy to the doctor, 'not aware of his extreme impatience to be read to,' and he records, as he went on, 'he [Johnson] turned his face to the back of the chair and put himself into various attitudes, which marked his uneasiness. At the end of an act, however, he said, "Come, let's go into the slaughter house again, Lanky, but I am afraid there is more blood than brains." Yet afterwards he said, 'When I heard you read it I thought higher of its powers of language: when I read it myself, I was more sensible of its pathetic effect,'

and then he paid it a compliment which many will think extravagant. "Sir (said he), if Otway had written this play, no other of his pieces would have been remembered." Langton afterwards repeated this to Dodsley, who remarked, "It is too much," and, indeed, it must be remembered that Johnson ever under-estimated the merits of Otway.' Yet there is no doubt that *Cleone* helped in some small degree to forward the growing movement, not perhaps in favour of a national drama, but directed against the stilted eccentricities of the period, and this quality may have appealed to Johnson. Dodsley himself explains his striving towards a simple diction, in a letter to the bookseller Cawthorn, dated April 2nd, 1757. 'I must own,' he says, after Cawthorn has expressed doubts on this point, 'I am so great an enemy to that tumidity of style so often made use of in Tragedy, that I may probably have err'd on the other side. However, if I have, it is an error of my judgment, as I think a domestic distress like this, should be as far remov'd from all pomp of expression as elegance will permit. Ribbons and starrs, diamonds and embroidery are only fit for kings or heroes or the highest Nobility; and in a Tragedy where such personages as these sustain the dialogue, their sentiments may with propriety be cloath'd in a more superb and ornamented stile: but in the humbler dress of private life, such decorations would surely be somewhat misplac'd. As to y<sup>e</sup> versification I have not endeavour'd at a smooth and flowing harmony of numbers (which I always look'd upon in Rowe as

a fault) but at such a natural ease and simplicity of language, as might flow without harshness or inelegance from the lips of the speaker.'

It is strange that after a meteor-like brilliance, this tragedy of Dodsley's should have been so soon relegated to that oblivion in which it seems, so far as concerns the majority of readers, likely to remain. And yet it must be remembered that it does not stand alone in that respect. No one ever thinks of reading any of the tragedies of that time with the possible exception of Home's *Douglas*, and that only because it happens to contain two lines which are generally mistaken for Shakespeare's; and it is the more surprising inasmuch as *Cleone* is far more modern than its contemporaries. Let us examine the plot, which, as Dodsley says, was taken 'from the legend of St Genevieve, written originally in French, and translated into English about an hundred years ago by Sir William Lower.' It is by no means complicated. It rests upon the rash and impetuous action of one Siffroy, husband of Cleone, who, whilst away from home, believes some unsupported statements of Glanville her traducer, wherein it appears that his wife and his friend Paulet are carrying on an intrigue, and writes a letter which causes all the tragedy. Jealousy as a basis for tragic action is not an original theme, and the very suddenness of his yielding to this passion must lessen the plausibility of the story for the critic who reads the play in the unexciting atmosphere of his own study. This is perhaps one of the reasons for its subsequent neglect. There is plenty

of action in the play, but it is full of stage devices which nowadays are being regarded with disfavour. At the beginning Siffroy has impulsively written to Glanville telling him to forbid Paulet his house. Glanville, as the villain of the piece, is in love with Cleone, and by pretending an affection for her companion Isabella, wins the girl over to his side. She then assists him in his schemes. The two of them contrive that Paulet shall be found concealed in Cleone's chamber, and afterwards arrange for his murder. Further lies cause the flight of Cleone with her young child. Meantime the letters which the still absent Siffroy send to his father-in-law are not without effect. Beaufort senior, heralded by his son, arrives, wishing to know the whole truth about his daughter's supposed shame. He is a bluff, hearty old man, unwilling hastily to believe the calumnies of Glanville, and, whilst demanding further proof, his suspicions are aroused by the discovery of Paulet's blood-stained sword, when the inference is forced upon him that Paulet, so far from having escaped with Cleone, as Glanville is eager to suggest, has been murdered. Meanwhile in this truly bloody tale, Raguzin, a hireling, has murdered Cleone's son in a neighbouring wood, and made ineffectual attempts to kill Cleone herself, whom he leaves in a swoon for dead.

Everything eventually comes to light. Glanville is accused of the murder of Paulet, but with the utmost confidence accuses Siffroy, showing as evidence a letter that Siffroy himself had written, in which he had said 'the traitor Paulet shall die by my own



hand.' This, however, does not convince Beaufort, and the subsequent discovery that Paulet is not really dead, and the finding of Cleone bereft of sense in the wood, completes this truly villainous villain's discomfiture. Isabella, moreover, is touched by the plight of Cleone, and makes her confession, but Siffroy's wild prayers for forgiveness come too late, for Cleone only recovers her senses to die.

Such, then, is the story of this drama, and one may well understand that Dr Johnson was reminded of the slaughter-house. There is almost too much action, indeed, and there are many weak spots. Dodsley himself must have realised the weakest of these—the motives of Glanville and the sudden unaccountable jealousy of Siffroy, for he strengthened them both. Calmly considered, his plot is a very bungling one, but to the spectator, who is concerned only with the action, it must have appeared plausible enough. Siffroy's sudden activity and jealousy after a three years' absence, without any waiting for real proof, may seem a little unaccountable; but Dodsley deserves good praise for the reserve with which he treats a subject that had hitherto called forth bombastic extravagances.

The character of Glanville is drawn in no half tones. Before the action of the play he has seduced Isabella. During the play he causes one murder to be carried through, and upon her confession himself attempts to kill the wretched Isabella. But Dodsley has made him consistent all through the tragedy. When discovered, he maintains a fine equanimity,

and even at the end, when his execution is certain, he can say :

' I know the worst and am prepared to meet it.  
That wretch hath seal'd my death. And had I but  
Aveng'd her timorous perfidy—the rest  
I'd leave to fate ; and neither should lament  
My own, nor pity yours.'

His description of honour is equally worth quoting :

' Honour !—What's honour ? A vain phantom rais'd  
To fright the weak from tasting those delights,  
Which Nature's voice, that law supreme, allows.'

The character of Cleone herself, so marvellously played by Mrs Bellamy, is perhaps a trifle conventional. She is good, simple, faithful and traduced. In her scene with Glanville, the absence of strength which was noticed by critics before the piece had been produced, is very marked :

' And what, O Glanville, what dost thou deserve ?  
Thou, who with treachery repay'st the trust  
Of sacred friendship ? Thou, who but to quench  
A loose desire, a lawless passion's rage,  
Would'st banish truth and honour from thy breast ? '

This is scarcely the language that one would expect from a woman who is momentarily expecting to be raped, but it must be remembered that Dodsley had set out as the enemy of all 'tumidity.' In the scenes which require a deep insight into the psychology of passion, he fails hopelessly, but when, so to speak, a domestic touch is needed, he is without equal as a writer of simple and expressive lines. Cleone's speech, on recovering from the swoon in which Raguzin had left her, excellently illustrates this power.

' Tremendous silence ! Not a sound returns,  
Save the wild echoes of my own sad cries,  
To my affrighted ear ! My child ! my child !  
Where art thou wander'd—where beyond the reach  
Of thy poor mother's voice !—Yet while above  
The God of Justice dwells, I will not deem  
Thy bloody vision true. Heaven hath not left me—  
There truth is known, well known—and see my love !  
See, where upon the banks its weary'd limbs  
Lie stretch'd in sleep. In sleep ! O agony !  
Blast not my senses with a sight like this !  
'Tis blood ! 'tis death ! my child, my child is murder'd ! '

To this power of Dodsley's, then, must be particularly attributed the great success of his play. It had, as it were, a homely interest, and for this reason contrasted all the more markedly with the tragedies produced before it. People wept at the expression of various emotions, all of which they could understand. Gray, for one, confesses that he did not attend a performance for fear of crying. ' There is little to say from hence,' he writes, ' but that *Cleone* has succeeded very well at Covent Garden, and that people who despised it in manuscript, went to see it, and confess—they cried so. For fear of crying too, I did not go.'

If, then, the play is not very deeply inspired, it is, at least, sound and deftly written ; it contains true feeling and true pathos. There is a certain pleasing simplicity of purpose throughout the scenes, and one can well understand that with Mrs Bellamy's acting, the audiences were mightily enthusiastic. Mrs Siddons, indeed, thought so highly of the part that she revived the tragedy towards the end of the century, but was forced to cease playing it on the second night, as her audiences were so deeply affected. Its success

must be taken as an interesting and not unimportant sidelight upon the tastes of the time. |

Yet even if its dramatic merit be allowed to be of no very high order, even if the part of Siffroy cannot be said to afford great opportunities to the actor, it must be admitted that Garrick's judgment was seriously at fault when he refused to produce this tragedy of a humble bookseller at Drury Lane.

## CHAPTER XI

AT THE TIME OF RETIREMENT : BURKE, GOLDSMITH,  
AND STERNE

FOR nearly twenty-five years Dodsley had been engaged in working up his business at the *Tully's Head*. During that time he had enjoyed many successes and experienced but few failures. He had introduced many men to the public who were now in the front rank, and by hard work and personal integrity he had obtained a position hardly equalled in the bookselling world, and—he was a rich man. But during the whole of that time he had ever been looking forward to the day when he could put aside his ledgers and give his whole attention to the literary labours nearest his heart. His frequent attacks of gout, moreover, unfitted him for any long spells of hard work. Months would pass whilst he had perforce to direct his business from an arm-chair, and even when his brother James had become a partner, much of the work necessary in such a business still remained upon his hands. The success of *Cleone*, however, afforded him the long-looked for opportunity to retire, but his decision to give everything, or nearly everything, to his brother, and to leave the *Tully's Head* altogether, seems to



have come to him on a sudden. His letters make no mention of a possible change in the firm until March 15th, 1759, when he writes to Shenstone: 'You will wonder why I am in so much hurry that I cannot write you a letter; the reason is I am settling my affairs, and leaving off the business to my brother.' And so everything is bustle and confusion in the house off Pall Mall. Lodgings have to be taken, a new house for himself and Alice Dyer, his devoted sister and nurse has to be found, his papers have to be sorted, the books made up, his personal belongings to be removed. 'If you write a letter,' he warns Shenstone, 'that will not reach me till after Lady day, you will be so good as to direct me at the Chinese Porter in Cockspur street near Charing Cross.' There is so much work to be done, however, that his departure 'is defer'd for a fortnight longer,' as everything is still in the 'most unsettled state'; but by the end of the month he has gone to the Chinese Porter, and Mr James Dodsley is master of the *Tully's Head*, a position he is to retain until his death in 1797. Shenstone is only one of many to express regret, and Dodsley himself admits to his friend that his departure 'makes me melancholy as well as you, but,' he adds, 'it is a sacrifice to brotherly love.' For nearly seventeen years James has shown himself a willing helper and an affectionate brother; here is his reward. And so Dodsley, somewhat sorrowfully, one imagines, goes off to the old hostelry that stands but a little way from the unpretentious little shop behind the arch, and from there directs the alterations that are to be made in the

new house which he is to rent in Bruton Street. By April 10th everything is ready for him, and letters are now to be addressed to 'Mr Dodsley in Bruton Street.' His name still appears in the firm, he is still in a measure its literary adviser, but that is all. A quarter of a century has passed since 'R. Dodsley, Author of the *Toy-shop*,' first placed his name at the foot of a publisher's advertisement, and for the five years that are left to him, he is to spend his time as a justly respected man of letters, travelling hither and thither about the country, composing fables, editing a volume or two of fugitive pieces, and, what is possibly most congenial of all, preparing an edition of Mr Shenstone's works.

About the time of his retirement it may be noted that he came into friendly contact with three of the most famous writers of the century. He had published the first three works of his young Irish friend Edmund Burke, and had projected with him the famous *Annual Register* which still exists; he had printed Oliver Goldsmith's *Enquiry into the State of Polite Learning in Europe*, and he was, a month or two hence, to detect the merit of a certain curious work submitted to him by an obscure prebendary of York.

Edmund Burke was probably introduced to the publisher by Arthur Murphy about 1752, and from that time he seems to have been eager to 'test the vigour of his pen by comparing it with that of others through the usual medium of the press.' It was not, however, until May, 1756, that his first acknowledged work appeared, written, as report has it, at the wish of the

famous Peg Woffington, with whom, at the time, he was much enamoured. This was *A Vindication of Natural Society, In a Letter to Lord . . . by a late Noble Writer*. Here again it would seem that in order to preserve the author's anonymity, Dodsley judged it best not to allow his own name to appear on the title page, preferring to give Mrs Cooper that honour. The publication of this book immediately started the rumour that Lord Bolingbroke was the author, the style affected by Burke in this case being similar to that philosopher's, and, indeed, there does not seem much reason to suppose that if Dodsley was actually responsible for the publication, as seems almost certain, he took any immediate means to contradict the rumour. The essay, however, was such a 'covert mimicry' both of Bolingbroke's 'style and principles' that contradiction would have been of small avail. Prior records that Chesterfield, Warburton and others for a time believed it to have been Bolingbroke's, and David Mallet, who had only lately published the dead nobleman's works, 'went to Dodsley's when filled with literati, purposely to disavow it.' The success of Burke's first piece, which was reprinted with additions in the following year, led to the appearance of another essay—*A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, which Dodsley published on April 21st., 1757. This definitely established the author's reputation, although he seems to have received no more than twenty guineas for the copyright. A week before, moreover, Dodsley had also issued the same author's

*Account of the European Settlements in America* in two volumes. For this Burke received fifty guineas, but it has been doubted whether he was the sole author. In the same year, too, eight sheets of an *Essay towards an Abridgment of English History* were also printed off for Dodsley, but David Hume was at work upon the same subject, and the project was dropped. Hume himself had been in communication with Dodsley over the poems of the blind poet Blacklock, and, indeed, one of his shorter essays appeared from the *Tully's Head*—and it was Dodsley, no doubt, who advised Burke to discontinue his *Abridgment*. His opinion of the Irishman about this time was very high. ‘That Mr Burke,’ he tells Shenstone in 1758, ‘who writes so ingeniously, is an Irish Gentleman, bred to the Law, but having y<sup>e</sup> grace not to follow it, will soon I should think make a very great figure in the literary world.’

And, indeed, it was in this same year that Dodsley and Burke projected the *Annual Register*. About this time,’ says Prior, ‘English literature and English history became indebted to him [Burke] in no ordinary degree by the establishment in conjunction with Dodsley, of the *Annual Register*. Of the excellence and utility of this work, the plan of which was ingenious while the execution insured great and lasting popularity there has never been but one opinion.’ The projection of such a work may be counted amongst Dodsley’s most important undertakings. His respect and admiration for Burke had been slowly increasing, and in April, 1758, he entered into an agreement, now printed for

the first time, with Burke to write or cause to be written a compendium of the most important events of the year. This is in Burke's handwriting, and runs as follows :—

‘ MEMORANDUM it is agreed this twenty fourth day of April 1758 between Edmund Burke Gent on one part & Robert & James Dodsley Booksellers on the other part, as follows viz The said Edmund Burke doth agree to write collect & compile from such materials as may arise a work entitled the Annual register or Retrospections on men & things for the year 1758 to be printed in octavo in the manner of Millers Kalender 800. & to make not less than thirty sheets nor more than thirty four, according to a plan agreed upon. The first Volume to commence from New Years day 1758 & to conclude with the End of the said Year, & to be finished so as that (*sic*) it may be corrected from the press & published by the Lady day following. And the s<sup>d</sup>. Edmund Burke doth agree that in case he should find reason to discontinue his writing the said work to give the said Robert & James Dodsley three months Notice of such his design and the said Robert & James Dodsley so reciprocally agree in Case they should chuse to discontinue the said work, or to employ any other person in the execution thereof to give the like Notice of three months to the said Edmund Burke. & the said Robert & James Dodsley in consideration of the said Edmund Burkes performing the said Work according to the above Articles do agree to pay to the said Edmund Burke the sum of one



hundred pounds for the first Volume of the said Work, one moiety of the said payment to be made on or before Michaelmas day next ensuing, and the other on the publication of the said Volume, and to find him all books & Pamphlets necessary for his carrying on the said Work. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands the day & year above written.

‘ EDMUND BURKE

‘ RDODSLEY

‘ J DODSLEY.’

The first Volume duly appeared on May 15th, 1759, and achieved an immediate success. It had reached a ninth edition by 1795, and most of the succeeding volumes had been reprinted five or six times before the end of the century. ‘ It is,’ says Prior with justice, ‘ the best and most comprehensive of all the periodical works, without any admixture of their trash, or their frequent tediousness of detail.’ Poetry and prose were both included—here it is to be noted that the first volume contained a reprint of Dodsley’s own *Melpomene*—and it was so arranged as to appeal to all classes. There were literary, historical, and topographical articles, reviews that were not publishers’ puffs, and various features of a novel type. For several years Burke continued as anonymous editor, and his biographer suggests that ‘ by the investigations necessary for the historical article ’ he ‘ became acquainted with the workings of practical politics, the secret springs by which they were put in motion, and with some of the chief

actors concerned.' If this were so, then Burke owed not a little to Dodsley.

At the beginning of Jan. 1759, whilst Dodsley was the most talked of man in London, another Irishman whose acquaintance he had but recently made, was endeavouring without much success to satisfy various creditors of his, and showing his independence to 'Dr' Ralph Griffiths the bookseller. His name was Oliver Goldsmith. In a letter to Griffiths, Goldsmith expressly bids him 'spare invective till my book with Mr Dodsley shall be publish'd.' This was the *Enquiry into the present state of Polite Learning in Europe*, which was published by the Dodsleys on April 4th, 1759, 'elegantly printed,' according to the advertisement, 'in octavo, price sewed 2s. 6d.' It was issued anonymously, 'through Goldsmith,' says his biographer 'was anxious to have the authorship widely known.'

Goldsmith's relations with the firm, if not actually with Robert Dodsley himself, were continued for some time. About three years later, Goldsmith entered into an engagement with James Dodsley for the publication of a *Chronological History of the Lives of Eminent Persons of Great Britain and Ireland*. But the younger brother—possibly by Robert's advice—'had inserted a cautious proviso that he was not to be required to advance anything till the book should be completed; and hence,' thinks Foster, 'in all probability the book was never begun.' History does not record whether the publisher acceded to the poor poet's request in the following year for ten guineas, but one may hope that his frequent meetings

with the elder brother at Tom Davies's house and other places, and his truly agreeable disposition may have counted in his favour.

An advertisement that appeared in the *London Chronicle* for Sept. 8th-10th, 1757, seems to have escaped even the latest of Sterne's biographers, yet its indirect bearing upon the publication of *Tristram Shandy* a year or two later should not be overlooked. On that day the public is informed that 'H. Hildyard, Bookseller in Stonegate York, returns her hearty Thanks to all her Friends for their Favours, since the Death of her late Husband ; and having now sold her whole Stock in Trade, and let her Shop, to Mr John Hinxman, the Continuance of their Custom to him will much oblige their most humble Servant.' Immediately below this announcement comes the more interesting one that 'John Hinxman, who served his Apprenticeship with Mr Dodsley in Pallmall, London, begs leave to inform the Public,' that he is stepping into Mrs Hildyard's shoes at York, 'where the Nobility, Gentry, and others, may depend upon being served with all sorts of Books, Prints and Stationary Wares.' Now this Hinxman was almost certainly the first bookseller to see the original draft of the first two volumes of *Tristram Shandy*, and it seems probable that he suggested his old master as a possible publisher. This would be during the earlier part of 1759, when Dodsley was leaving the *Tully's Head*, though of this fact Hinxman would probably still be ignorant. And so Sterne seems to have written personally to Robert, offering his work for fifty pounds. Whether the

manuscript accompanied this letter or was only sent on afterwards does not appear, but Dodsley seems to have recognized its merits, and possibly replied without consulting his brother. Its many local allusions, he seems to have considered, would spoil the sale, and fifty pounds would mean a serious loss to his brother, should the book fail to please. He probably suggested that the book might be improved by the exclusion of such local allusions as would pass unnoticed in London, and Sterne seems to have been very ready to follow such advice.

Dodsley's favourable opinion, too, appears to have increased the interest shown by local men in the book, and one admirer by name Lee offered to subscribe a hundred pounds towards the printing bill. Whereupon John Hinxman seems to have suggested that a small edition should be published by himself at York—until then he had felt unable to take the risk—part of which might be sold by Dodsley, if he allowed his name to appear on the title-page. Sterne fell in with this suggestion, but wrote again to the elder Dodsley, sometime in October. Fortunately this letter has been preserved :

‘ SIR,

‘ What you wrote to me in June last, in answer to my demand of £50 for the *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*—that it was too much to risk on a single volume, which, if it happened not to sell, would be hard upon your brother—I think a most

reasonable objection in him, against giving me the price I thought my work deserved. You need not to be told by me, how much authors are inclined to overrate their own productions—for my own part, I hope I am an exception, for, if I could find out, by any arcanum, the precise value of mine, I declare Mr James Dodsley should have it 20 per cent., below its value. I propose, therefore, to print a lean edition, in two small volumes, of the size of *Rasselas*, and on the same type and paper, at my own expence, merely to feel the pulse of the world, and that I may know what price to set on the remaining volumes from the reception of these. If my book sells, and has the run our critics expect, I propose to free myself of all future troubles of the kind, and bargain with you, if possible for the rest as they come out, which will be every six months. If my book fails of success, the loss falls where it ought to do. The same motives which inclined me first to offer you this trifle, incline me to give you the whole profits of the sale (except what Mr Hinxman sells here, which will be a great many) and to have them sold only at your shop upon the usual terms in these cases. The book shall be printed here, and the impression sent up to you; for as I live at York, and shall correct every proof myself, it shall go perfect into the world, and be printed in so creditable a way, as to paper, type, etc., as to do no dishonour to you, who, I know, never choose to print a book meanly. Will you patronize my book upon these terms, and be as kind a friend to it as if you had bought the copyright? Be so good as



to favour me with a line by the return ; and believe me,

‘ Sir, Your most obliged and most humble servant

‘ LAW. STERNE.’

‘ P.S. All locality is taken out of the book ; the satire general ; notes are added, where wanted, and the whole made more saleable ; about a hundred and fifty pages added ; and, to conclude, a strong interest formed and forming in its behalf, which I hope, will soon take off the few I shall print in this *coup d'essai*. I had desired Mr Hinxman to write the purport of this to you by this post ; but lest he should omit it, or not sufficiently explain my intention, I thought it best to trouble you with a letter myself. Direct for me Prebendary of York.’

What followed is obscure, but it is probable that Dodsley recognized the great improvements that had been made in the manuscript, and strongly advised his brother to purchase the copyright. According to John Croft, who saw Sterne’s notebooks, but is not always reliable, an offer of £40, which Sterne refused to accept, was actually made. Whether this is so or not, Hinxman must have reported the great interest aroused at York that had culminated in Mr Lee’s contribution, and although it is impossible to say how much money—if any—James Dodsley advanced towards the printing of the first two volumes, they ultimately appeared with Hinxman’s name and his own on the title page on the first day of the new year. Professor Cross in his lately published *Life of Sterne*

thinks that the books, although advertised as 'York Printed for and sold by John Hinxman' were really printed in London under James Dodsley's supervision. Such indeed was a common enough practice at the time. 'The paper and typography of the first edition of the first two volumes,' he says, 'are precisely the same as those of the third and fourth volumes, which were printed in London the next year for R. and J. Dodsley. It is, of course, possible, though not probable, that Dodsley [i.e. James], in bringing out the second instalment of the book, exactly matched the paper and the type of the York printer; but the natural inference is that Dodsley, on terms not now known likewise printed the first edition of the first instalment; that he kept with reluctance a bundle for the London market, and sent the rest down to York, to John Hinxman, who may be regarded as the real publisher of *Tristram Shandy*, insofar as it had any outside of the author and his friend Mr Lee.' This view, indeed, would appear to be that nearest the truth, but it must be borne in mind that Robert Dodsley's favourable opinion has more to do with the publication of the book than might appear. His own tragedy just at that time was being successfully performed at York, his reputation as a man of letters was at its highest, and it may be that Mr Lee's donation followed on the letters that he had written to his old apprentice.<sup>1</sup>

With the future transactions between Sterne and

<sup>1</sup> It was only a year or two later that John Hinxman, chiefly, one imagines, owing to the sale of *Tristram Shandy*, was able to purchase Mrs Cooper's large business in Paternoster Row.

the firm, Robert had little to do, but that he had been responsible for its publication in London cannot be doubted. And so, just at the moment of his own success, he must have had the satisfaction of beholding what may with justice be described as the greatest and most unexpected literary triumph of the century, and of knowing that this triumph was in a measure due to himself. Of the further history of *Tristram Shandy*, it will not be necessary to speak—Professor Cross, although he does not seem to realize that Robert had retired from business before the first two volumes had appeared, gives a full account of the various editions for which James Dodsley paid so much money—but one may imagine Robert Dodsley to have been by no means the least welcome visitor at the Yorkshire clergyman's room in Pall Mall during that extraordinary spring, when the whole of the fashionable world, having discovered that he had come to London, seemed eager to do him all reverence. Indeed it was probably Dodsley himself who introduced him to Lyttelton and Chesterfield and the circle that was wont to gather at the *Tully's Head*. But now it was as a dramatist of parts that he would appear in such society ; the bookseller, as the footman before him, was forgotten.

## CHAPTER XII

### DODSLEY AND THE TRADE

**D**ODSLEY, says one of his biographers, may be regarded as a practical refutation of the opinion, formerly more prevalent than it is now, that business and a love of literature and the arts are incompatible with each other. It must be admitted, however, that he never allowed his personal interest in a manuscript to warp his commercial judgment. By nature he was a poet of lofty ideals, but by trade he was a bookseller, and it was the hope of realizing in part those ideals that made him regard the work of publishing little more than a means to an end. His agreeable personality and well-known integrity together brought him his success, and few had anything to say against him. He never disguised the position he had adopted, just as he was never chary of admitting his earlier career as a footman, and if at times the tradesman in him predominated, it was no more than might have been expected. And so we have at least one author, Thomas Percy, complaining. Writing towards the end of 1760, when he was projecting his collection of Old Ballads, he tells Shenstone that negotiations with regard to its publication had suddenly been broken

off with the Dodsleys. 'You will be surprised,' writes Percy, 'when I tell you that Mr Dodsley & I have broke off all treaty on the subject of the Old Ballads. James Dodsley is generous enough & offered me terms that would have repaid my labours, but his brother (who, if you remember, had never much opinion of the work) has, I suppose, persuaded him to desist, for the other has receded from his own offers, and we are now quite off, as the trading term is. I can't say but he has shown too much of the bookseller in this affair, as I could make appear if I were to show you his letters; but I don't desire to have it either repeated or remembered to his disadvantage, as in our former engagement he acted with great honour and civility:—I am everyday more convinced of the truth of Baskerville's distinction between the two brothers, at least thus far: *that as a tradesman Mr James Dodsley is the more generous to deal with*: I could also add, unless Mr R. D. influences him.' That James Dodsley was found to be the more generous as a tradesman is not to be wondered at, if it be remembered that his brother, and not he, had founded the business. It was only natural that a man who had devoted the greater part of his life to the slow building up of a fortune, would be somewhat chary in his methods of spending such hard-earned treasure, and although it cannot be suggested that James Dodsley was less enthusiastic for the success of the firm, he certainly had at this time far less at stake. Setting aside the natural disappointment which Percy must have experienced at



this rebuff—it should be added, however, that in five months either James or his brother had ‘thought better of the scheme’ and ‘had come up’ to Percy’s terms of a hundred guineas for three volumes—it must be admitted that the future bishop’s estimate was fairly correct. Dodsley was ever a publisher first. Eager as he might be to show friendship and personal feelings for such authors as placed their manuscripts with him, he could hardly be expected to give prominence to any considerations except those that were purely financial. Yet with the exceptions of Percy, and Lady Mary Montagu, no author seems to have left on record any resentment at the treatment received at Dodsley’s hands. Many large sums were given to various writers, some, it would seem, out of all proportion to the merits of their work, and few would appear to have left the *Tully’s Head* when once their work had appeared from its doors. Indeed, the encouragement that he gave to certain youthful authors had in many cases consequences of considerable magnitude, and one cannot help wondering what would have happened had he instead of his brother been alive to receive poor Chatterton’s poems.

‘Many booksellers,’ says the polite author of a contemporary trade directory, ‘have made handsome fortunes in the trade : yet this is not to be done without running oftentimes great risks, and having by them heavy stocks of books unsold ; to alleviate which they have a prudent method of several of them joining to carry on the larger undertakings.’ Dodsley,

we find, upon several occasions followed this ' prudent method ' of taking temporary partners. So in the preparation and publication of Dr Johnson's Dictionary there were no less than seven partners, though in a generality of cases, there were but two or three. Occasionally the printer himself participated in the expenses, whilst sometimes private individuals took shares, large or small as the case might be, in the undertaking. Of the booksellers who became temporary partners with Dodsley, Andrew Millar is perhaps the most important, but the publishers with whom he seems to have been on terms of the closest business intimacy were the Coopers, from whose busy house at the Globe in Paternoster Row went forth some thousands of books of all kinds. Nearly every month saw the production of a new book ' Printed for R. Dodsley, and sold by T. [or M.] Cooper.' The exact nature of their agreement does not appear. It would seem indeed, that the Coopers had acted as agents in many cases, merely distributing Dodsley's publications throughout the trade, though at times they seem really to have shared the expenses of printing. The curious behaviour of Mrs Cooper, who carried on the business alone after her husband's death, over the publication of the *Oeconomy of Human Life* has already been mentioned, as well as Dodsley's occasional subterfuge to maintain the anonymity of an author by making her the ostensible publisher of a work submitted, one supposes, in the first instance to himself. Beyond these facts nothing is known, although the continued half-partnerships, if they

may so be called, between the Coopers and Dodsley would seem to point to the ex-footman having served his apprenticeship in their house.

Other such temporary partners were the Tonsons, the Knaptons, Lawton Gilliver, Brindley, well-known for his reprints of the classics, Hett, Bathurst, Waller, Charles Hitch and the Rivingtons. Of them it will be necessary to say nothing beyond the fact that so far as is known, Dodsley seems to have remained on amicable terms with all, and, indeed, only on one occasion—when large extracts of Dr Johnson's *Rasselas* had been reprinted by Kinnersley in his Magazine—was he obliged to go to law with any member of the trade.

In the printing of his books, Dodsley, as we have seen, ever showed the keenest interest. The eighteenth century in point of fact witnessed a remarkable renaissance in English printing, and Dodsley was one of those who took particular pains to employ where possible a printer who aimed at producing fine books. So we find him the earliest London bookseller to extend a helping hand to the justly celebrated Birmingham type-founder, John Baskerville, who, indeed, owed not a little of his later success as a printer to Dodsley's interest.

Baskerville had made a fairly large fortune as a japanner, and began his typefounding experiments about 1750. It is just possible that Shenstone, who was his near neighbour—Baskerville's house at Easy Hill was no more than 'a morning's ride' from the Leasowes—informed Dodsley of the new work that

was proceeding apace in his neighbourhood. The publisher seems to have expressed an immediate interest. Probably he heard of the large sums—some seven or eight hundred pounds—that Baskerville was spending—and desired to see an early specimen. Before this arrived, however, Baskerville was maintaining a regular correspondence with him, giving details of his progress and probably visiting the *Tully's Head*. Dodsley, indeed, seems to have expressed impatience to see some tangible result, but Baskerville was a slow worker, and it was not until 1752, that the earliest impressions were despatched to London. 'To remove in some Measure y<sup>r</sup> Impatience,' writes the printer in October, 'I have sent you an Impression of 14 Punches of the two-lines Great Primer. . . . I can't forbear saying they please me, as I can make nothing more correct nor shall you see any thing of mine less so. You'll observe,' he continues with pardonable pride, 'they strike the Eye much more sensibly than the smaller characters tho Equally perfect, till the press shows them to more Advantage; The press is creeping slowly towards Perfection; I flatter myself with being able to print nearly as good a Colour & smooth a stroke as the inclos'd.' These few lines sufficiently proclaim Dodsley's great interest in typographical matters. The next sentence, however, in this letter is somewhat obscure. Dodsley, it seems, had suggested that Baskerville should try his skill first with some poem that he proposed to publish, for, writes the printer, 'I should esteem it a favour if you'd

send me the Initial Letters of all the Cantos lest they should not be included in the said 14, & three or four pages of the Poem from whence to form a Bill for the Casting a suitable number of each Letter.' From the next letter, dated a fortnight later, it would seem that Dodsley required the poem to be printed by Christmas, a feat which Baskerville apparently could not perform, although in this second letter he says: '. . . You may depend on my being ready by y<sup>r</sup> time (Christmas) but if more time could be allow'd I should make use of it all in Correcting & justifying; as so much depends on Appearing perfect on first Starting.' Dodsley had sent a plate to be included in this volume, whatever it was, but Baskerville was by no means pleased with it, and although he readily accepted 'the Terms you are so kind to offer me of treating you freely as my Friend,' could not forbear telling the publisher that his own taste would not permit him to give the offensive plate the least word of praise. 'If you'll accept my Judgment & skill,' he concludes, 'it is at y<sup>r</sup> service.' Nothing, however, came of this proposal: possibly Baskerville's prices were rather higher than Dodsley had expected, and negotiations were held over for a time, but at the beginning of 1754 one hears further news of the press. Dodsley, whose intimacy with Baskerville was slowly increasing, sent him a copy of his *Agriculture*, a present for which the printer returned thanks on January 18th. 'I am greatly indebted,' he writes, 'for the present of y<sup>r</sup> charming poem. . . . I wish you the success it so justly deserves.' After mentioning Akenside's





*John Baskerville*

JOHN BASKERVILLE, THE BIRMINGHAM TYPEFOUNDER AND PRINTER



poetry, he continues : ' I have put the last hand to my Great Primer, and have corrected fourteen letters in the specimen you were so kind to approve, and have made good progress in the English.' He then details his scheme for obtaining absolutely correct texts. ' Two people,' he says, ' must be concerned ; the one must name every letter, capital, points, reference, accent, &c, that is, in English, must spell every word distinctly, and note down every difference in a book prepared on purpose. Pray oblige me by making the experiment with Mr James Dodsley.'

A year later the printer brought his specimens to London, and probably stayed with Dodsley, who was able to tell Shenstone that everyone ' much approv'd ' of them, and that Baskerville was meeting ' with great encouragement at both the Universities. It was probably on the occasion of this visit that Dodsley agreed to act as agent for the great *Virgil* which Baskerville was projecting, but which did not appear until April, 1757.<sup>1</sup> Whilst being unwilling to take upon himself the risk of publication, he undoubtedly obtained for the printer a large proportion of those five or six hundred subscribers who ultimately permitted their names to be printed in the book. He himself took twenty copies, and distributed the specimens with a zeal that showed his keenness for the work. The publication of the *Virgil* made Basker-

<sup>1</sup> Further particulars of this publication, including several letters that passed between Dodsley and Baskerville may be found in *John Baskerville, a Memoir*, by Ralph Straus and Robert K. Dent, 1907.

ville's reputation, but Dodsley, whilst maintaining the warmest interest in his friend's work, found his charges too excessive for ordinary purposes of trade. True, he hoped that Shenstone's *Elegies* might appear from the Birmingham press, and allowed Baskerville to print the Rev. John Huckell's poem *Avon* in 1758, but not until his own *Select Fables* appeared in 1761 could he do more than act as agent for such works as Baskerville chose to print at his own expense. It may be added, too, that together with Paul Valliant, he purchased the remaining copies of the *Virgil*.

A word should be said here about Dodsley as a stationer proper. He was the projector of the famous Memorandum books, which were in effect, the prototype of the modern diary. These little books appeared in November of each year, and were so widely and so closely imitated, that he was obliged, after a few years, to alter in some measure their format. On this occasion he issued the following advertisement :

‘ The kind reception which this little scheme of a methodical Memorandum Book met with from the Publick, has invited so many interlopers, under the pretence of Alterations and Amendments, to interfere with the first proprietor in the profits of it, that he hath at length been induced, in order to preserve in some Measure to himself the Benefit of his own Project, to try if it could really be altered for the better. It is therefore now given to the Publick in a shape somewhat different from what it was at first ; whether improv'd or not they are to judge : but promise,

that from year to year, it shall receive every possible Improvement that a Pocket Memorandum Book is capable of.

‘ ROBERT DODSLEY.’

The diaries, indeed, were often reprinted, and must have been a fine property. In addition to them, however, there might always have been found at the *Tully's Head* various samples of writing paper, and when Baskerville placed upon the market his own novel ‘hot-pressed’ paper, Dodsley acted as agent for it. The following advertisement, dated May 25th, 1756, seems to refer to this paper of Baskerville's :

‘ TO THE CURIOUS IN WRITING PAPER.

‘ R. and J. Dodsley Booksellers in Pallmall give notice that they have lately procured an exceeding fine writing paper, manufactured in a new and particular manner, so as to be perfectly easy and pleasant to the hand, free from all roughnesses that obstruct or clog the pen, extremely white, very thin, and yet bearing the ink in so perfect a manner as to be used on both sides as well as though it was ever so thick. The paper is cut into various sizes and neatly ornamented for the use of ladies and gentlemen in writing small billets, messages, etc.’

Another advertisement of a slightly later date mentions ‘a fresh parcel of much improv'd paper in various colours and with black borders for mourning.’ Lord Chesterfield's essay in the *World* will be



remembered in this connection. Anything new, indeed, of this kind, found in Dodsley a warm patron.

To return, however, to his other printers. Of his connection with Edward Cave, his earliest printer, one imagines, nothing more is known than what Boswell had recorded. Cave had no pretensions to be considered a good printer, and in consequence received but few commissions from the *Tully's Head*. He was indeed soon supplanted by John Hughs, an Oxfordshire man, born, like Dodsley, in 1703, and son of a Dissenting Minister. Hughs had set up his press near the Green Gate in Holborn, in 1730, but in a few years was removing to 'a house in Whetstone Park, near Great Turnstyle, facing the east side of Lincoln's Inn Fields.' 'It was from his press,' says the indefatigable Timperley, 'that almost the whole of the numerous and valuable publications of the Dodsleys were issued.' Hughs died in 1771 'after a life of singular industry and benevolence.' Of more interest than him was Samuel Richardson, the novelist, from whose press in Salisbury Court came forth one or two of Dodsley's publications. Richardson occasionally speaks of his 'good friend Mr Dodsley,' but one does not hear that they were ever particularly intimate. William Bowyer, probably the most famous English printer of his day, likewise figures amongst those whom Dodsley employed. Others of less renown were William Strahan, Critchley, Woodfall, Owen, and, in one instance, as we have seen, Mr Horace Walpole. But of his printers there is little to be told. None of their bills have been pre-

served : we know nothing of Dodsley's relations with them. We know, indeed, that he visited Holland upon business, and that he supplied Baskerville with the paper used for his *Fables*, but of details concerning the actual making up of his books, there are none.

Of the more intimate life at the *Tully's Head* and the character of its workmen there is unfortunately but little more to be said. Contemporary views on the apprentice question, their lives and pursuits, are of course to be found scattered here and there, but very little has been preserved which in any way relates to the apprentices employed by Dodsley. Enough, however, remains to disprove the statement of Mr Tedder in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that John Walter was his only apprentice. Even leaving James Dodsley out of the question, although he too must be counted as one of them, there were at least two, and probably three, others, two of whom at any rate were in the office at the same time. John Hinxman, as we have seen, thought fit, in 1757, to advertise his former connection with the firm, and he was probably the 'elder Prentice' of whom Dodsley speaks in a letter to Mr Melmoth, dated Dec. 16th, 1756, on the occasion of the loss of some receipt. 'The perplexing and unaccountable Affair,' he writes, 'of the five Pounds gives me much disturbance, lest through any neglect of mine you should have been oblig'd to pay the mony twice over. I have again been searching every place where I think it possible I could have put any receipt, but can find none. The

Letter you have sent me shows that I intended to pay some money for you the very day I wrote it, whether I did so or not I cannot positively recollect, neither can any of my people remember whether they paid it for me. The elder Prentice seemed to recollect that y<sup>e</sup> younger was order'd to pay some money in Friday Street, but y<sup>e</sup> younger does not remember that he ever paid any there.' The younger apprentice here mentioned seems to have been John Walter (not to be confused with the founder of the *Times* newspaper), who left the firm at the end of 1759, when he issued the following advertisement :

' John Walter, Bookseller, from Mr Dodsley's takes this method to acquaint his friends and the publick that he has opened a shop at Homer's Head in the New Buildings, Charing Cross ; where those who please to favour him with any commands in the book-selling or stationary business may depend on being served with integrity and punctuality by their obedient and humble servant, J. Walter.'

Walter became a great friend of James Dodsley, who left him a thousand pounds at his death.

Another possible apprentice was William Randall, whose name appears in several of Dodsley's agreements, but of him there is no mention after 1753. Freeborn, another apprentice of the firm, only came to the *Tully's Head* [some years after Robert's death.

One may conclude this chapter with a poem,

published in 1759 and printed in more than one newspaper, wherein the anomaly of a bookseller, who was also a poet, is quaintly set forth :

‘TO MR R. DODSLEY.

A DIALOGUE

BETWIXT THE POET AND THE BOOKSELLER.

*P.* Now thrice had Colin sheer'd his woolly train,  
Thrice in his garner hous'd the golden grain,  
Since Hymen, yielding to his ardent vow,  
Had eas'd his anxious heart, and smooth'd his brow :  
Had giv'n his Lucia to his longing arms,  
And bless'd his cottage with her blooming charms.  
*B.* Pretty and soft—— *P.* Enough, my friend, enough.  
*Morosus* mutters “ Sir, your verse is rough.”  
*Ev'n Pollio* cries, “ Your Eclogues want a chain ;  
This ends abrupt, abrupt the following strain.  
The style 's too polish'd, and the sense too fine,  
Your shepherd reasons like a deep divine.”  
Yet *Varus* thinks the poem all complete,  
The language rural, and the numbers sweet.  
Poems and portraits feel an equal fate,  
Both vex'd alike, and endless the debate.  
Your eye strong likeness in the piece can trace,  
Mine not a feature of the living face.  
One critic dashes, what the next approves,  
As differing taste the partial judgment moves.  
*Flatt'ry* will praise, and *Envy's* tongue defame :  
'Tis there all excellence, 'tis here all blame.  
Thus from opinion to opinion tost,  
And in a maze of contradictions lost,  
Where must a poet alter ? Where strike out ?  
What sov'reign arbiter resolves each doubt ?  
Shall he his piece by his own scale adjust,  
Then to the publick voice his fame intrust ?  
*B.* Sir, nothing will the publick ear engage,  
Unless you hit the humour of the age :  
And to deal plainly, in these iron times  
But few are tickled with melodious rhymes.

*P.* I court the Few, let others please the Throng.  
*B.* But I must eat by readers of the song.  
 With many a ream my loaded garrets groan  
 Of Heliconian ware—— *P.* Perhaps my own.  
 Trash doubtless all. Let *Mason* touch the lyre,  
 Let the warm impulse *Akenside* inspire,  
 Let tuneful *Gray* in pensive numbers flow,  
 Or *Dyer's* line with rural fancy glow,  
 What can withstand their music?—— *B.* Asses ears.  
*P.* Hold, lest you tag the coupling verse with—peers.  
*B.* Keep clear of scandal, tremble at the laws,  
 'Tis dang'rous playing with a lion's claws.  
 The Great—— *P.* Set holy water at the door,  
 Nothing unclean may tread their hallow'd floor :  
 I come not near, who neither throw nor bet ;  
 And, thank my stars, no ribband 's in my debt.  
 The Muse once glory'd in a Sackville's name,  
 A Somers once was guardian of her fame.  
*B.* Old fashion'd times—new generations rise,  
 And modes and manners ever change their dyes.  
*P.* What must we write, the modern taste to hit ?  
*B.* A panygyric or lampoon on Pitt.  
*P.* To libel Virtue would deserve a rope.  
 To praise such virtue well what pow'r's can hope ?  
*B.* Record the Prussian hero. *P.* Ay, translate  
 From Dutch Gazettes and Mercuries out of date,  
 Then with proposals swell the pompous page,  
 Subscribe, subscribe—the Wonder of the age !  
 A novel—— *B.* Turns the stomach of the town,  
 Those fulsome hashes go no longer down :  
 Write for the city, sir, on cent per cent  
 Your pamphlet's safe ; I'll answer for its vent.  
 Thro' the full 'Change my hawker roars his cry,  
 There 's not a Jew or Christian but will buy.  
*P.* These men of lucre, sure, amusement need.  
*B.* A magazine or journal does the deed.  
*P.* I hate thee, Avarice, whose infectious breath,  
 Bane to all Science, to all Virtue death.  
 Pours a thick fog around the dark'ning land.  
 Bow, bow to Dulness, ye poetic band,  
 Dash down your silver harps, nor waste your pains  
 To charm deaf adders with celestial strains.  
 Ye Nine, from this ingrateful isle remove,  
 Chuse in some savage clime some list'ning grove.



Th' untutor'd Indian, with a raptur'd ear,  
All day your voice, your potent voice, will hear :  
Verse his unruly passions shall controul,  
His fierceness smooth, and humanize his soul :  
A new Parnasse 'mong Cabot's hills shall rise,  
And a new Athens greet their wond'ring skies.'

## CHAPTER XIII

### DODSLEY'S FABLES

IT is a little curious to find that with the exception of two short pieces, Dodsley published no further verse after *Cleone*, but during 1759 and 1760, in the intervals of travelling about and attending to the now very frequent attacks of gout, he was busily occupied in bringing together materials for his well-known *Select Fables*. A desire to write fables, had, one supposes, been his, even since he had read the two quarto volumes issued by Mr Gay in 1728. In his *Muse in Livery* he had published *The Enquiry*, in which various animals give utterance to a number of sound, if somewhat conventional, moral aphorisms. It is not, indeed, surprising to find that this method of literary expression should have appealed to the author of the *Oeconomy of Human Life*. As a young man he would have been familiar with Samuel Croxall's translation of *Æsop*, and he would have admired his friend Edward Moore's *Fables for the Female Sex*, issued in 1744; and, indeed, he and Akenside had included many fables in verse in the *Museum*. Some years later the idea of publishing some such work as would bring together both ancient and modern fables, related in such a way that children

should understand them, seems to have occurred to him. The composition, however, of his *Agriculture*, and the tragedy of *Cleone* occupied the whole of his leisure time, and it was not until his retirement that he was able to give much time to the project.

And so it is not until Oct. 10th, 1758, that we have the first intimation that any such work is in progress, but on that day he lets Shenstone 'into a secret.' 'I am at present,' he says, 'writing from Esop and others, an hundred select Fables in prose, for the use of schools; we having no book of that kind fit to put into the hands of youth, from the wretched manner in which they are written. Tell me what you think of this attempt.' Shenstone is interested, but doubtful. Fables, he inclines to think, are over-rated. Dodsley writes again on the subject in the following January, determined to arouse his friend's interest. From this letter it appears that Robert Lowth, afterwards Bishop of London, and famous for his controversy with Warburton, had first incited him to the composition of original fables. 'It is a task,' he writes, 'which I was first perswaded to undertake by Dr Lowth, when I had y<sup>e</sup> pleasure of seeing him last Sūmer at Durham. I wrote between thirty and forty soon after I came home, & happening to shew them to Mr Melmoth, his partiality approv'd them so well, that he was pleas'd to join me in the work, & whilst I have been busy'd in my Play, has written between thirty and forty more. I shall be very glad to hear your reasons for entertaining but a mean opinion of Fables;

& that you would favour me with what rules you think should be observ'd in writing them. Indeed we have no Collection of Fables in prose, that are fit to be read; and as they are amongst the first things that are put into y<sup>e</sup> hand of young people, were they judiciously chosen, well told, in a Style concise & clear, & at y<sup>e</sup> same time so plainly couch'd in the Narrative, as to need no detach'd explanatory Moral at the end, I think it might possibly be a useful & acceptable work, and not altogether unentertaining.'

Shenstone apparently reconsidered his 'mean opinion,' and asked to see a copy of La Motte and Fontaine, a 'pompous edition' of whose *Fables*, as Dodsley informs him, was then appearing, and indeed, he seems to have promised the publisher a Fable of his own composition. On March 19th, 1759, Dodsley is reminding him of this promise. 'Pray,' says he, 'don't forget the Fable of the two Swans, and I wish you would write it in prose that I might have the advantage of inserting it in my Collection.' A week later, although he is so busily engaged with the worries of removing from the *Tully's Head*, he has found time to compose another short fable *The Halcyon and the Sparrow*, which is immediately despatched to Shenstone as 'a specimen of what I intend.' 'But,' he writes, 'instead of giving me your thoughts on the Subject, you ask what I think the precise distinction betwixt a Fable and a Tale. This is not fair dealing. However, I will give you my opinion, in order that it may be corrected. I think a Tale may be defin'd—a Series of Events, related without regard to any

Moral : whereas a Fable is one single Event, contriv'd on purpose to illustrate and enforce some Moral Truth or Prudential Maxim. And now,' he adds, 'pray give me your opinion ! and I could wish you would favour me with half a dozen or half a score Fables by way of Specimen.' Shenstone's reply embraces an invitation to come to the Leasowes. 'Pray now,' he writes, upon Dodsley's refusing, 'you that are a Mythologist, what an absurd man you are, not to jump at an invitation to come directly to the Leasowes ? Here am I, like your friend Esop, before Ogilby's Fables ; or like Adam in our old Bibles sitting once or twice a day with every created animal before me. Is not this the only residence for a person that is writing fables ? 'Tis true, this very person may contemplate better in a crowd, than another in the depths of solitude : you may far surpass me, who thus converse with birds, while he describes a sparrow from Pall-mall, or a kingfisher from Charing Cross : but imagination is a prodigious heightener ; and unless he paints them from life, may he not attribute to a Kingfisher much finer feathers than he in truth possesses ? '

Some months passed before Dodsley was able to get to the Leasowes, but he arrived there in September, interviewed Baskerville, and arranged provisionally that his Fables should be printed at Easy Hill. He stayed at the Leasowes and in Birmingham for five weeks, writing further fables under Shenstone's supervision, and from there proceeded to Bath, where Spence and William Whitehead joined him.



Shenstone was to have been of the party, but was unable to get away from his home on account of a legal squabble in which he was at the time engaged. His opinion of Dodsley's undertaking appears in a letter to Graves, written at the beginning of October. 'Dodsley,' says he, 'to give his book eclat, should allow himself time to abridge and polish. It is not enough in my opinion merely to surpass L'Estrange and Croxall . . . and . . . in respect of his own new invented Fables, I wish him to devise uncommon subjects, and to inculcate refined Morals.' Graves himself was another contributor, and he seems to have joined the little coterie at Bath. There was some talk even then of publishing the collection during the coming winter, but Dodsley was well advised to wait. Shenstone's opinion seems to have been shared by most of the other coadjutors. 'As to Dodsley's publishing this winter,' he writes at the end of October, 'he may possibly do so without loss of credit; but when one considers that they are, or ought to be, the standard for years to come, one can hardly avoid wishing him to give them the polish of another summer.'

At the same time all of Dodsley's friends were not in entire agreement upon all points. Melmoth, for instance, differed from Shenstone, and indeed, from Dr Lowth, in so far as he considered that no fable which did not turn upon 'the obvious qualities of common and familiar objects' was exactly suited for juvenile instruction. Many of the fables submitted to him in manuscript had, in fact, told of unfamiliar animals or objects, but his objection was overruled,

and when the book appeared, although most of the pieces treated of everyday objects, there were one or two animals and plants mentioned which cannot have been familiar to the young scholars for whom the book was intended. Of the critics Shenstone was perhaps the most fastidious of all. 'You will observe,' he writes upon one occasion, 'that I take great liberties with the Fables you ask me to revise. Dodsley must think me very fantastical or worse, while I was correcting those he wrote at the Leasowes. I find my ear more apt to take offence than most other people's; and, as his is far less delicate than mine, he must of course believe in many places, that I altered merely for the sake of alteration. I cannot be easy,' he continues, 'without some certain proportion between one sentence and another; without a melody at the close of a paragraph almost as agreeable as your Magnificent Salon. I have not written to Dodsley any decent letter since he arrived at his house in London. I must now apply myself to write half a score Fables, and, if he chuses it, a translation of La Motte's *Discourse* upon the subject.' His great interest in the undertaking appears from the fact that he caused his own painter, Alcock, to make some drawings for the collection. These, however, were not finished in time, and Hale and Grignion were afterwards commissioned to make a number of plates. During the winter, too, Shenstone translated La Motte's essay on Fable, 'a most excellent discourse,' he thought it, for inclusion in the collection, but although Dodsley made large use of it, he preferred

to put his ideas upon the subject in his own way. At the beginning of the new year the first draft of this essay was finished, and sent to Graves and Shenstone for their correction. By that time he had determined to print some time during the summer. In May, he was writing again to thank Shenstone for his excellent translation :

‘ I am sorry,’ he says in the course of a long and characteristic letter, ‘ I hurried my Essay out of your Hands, before you had done with it ; but if I think of publishing my Fables next October or November, it is high time I should put both to press now, that the printer may have good weather to print in, and that the work may have time to dry, after it is finished, before the books are bound. But as it happens, I cannot begin till the latter end of this month, as the printer is not at leisure ; however I have put my plates in hand, and they are going on as fast as possible, I never receiv’d Mr Alcock’s drawings ; so I have got two others executed, of somewhat a different design. I will not put the essay in hand till the last, which may, perhaps, be about July, as I shall be very desirous of having the advantage of your corrections. But am I not to hope for a new Fable or two from you ? You see how I dwindle in my expectations : but pray don’t let me be quite disappointed. I propose, if possible, to finish the printing of my Fables before I set out on my northern expedition. Mr Melmoth and his lady will be at Nottingham about the latter end of August ; they have wished I would meet them there, and in their return to town, bring them round

to the Leasowes. Mr Burke has also a strong inclination to meet us there ; so that possibly we may be happy enough to spend a day or two with you ; another must be spent at Lord Lyttelton's (as they are both acquainted with him) and a third at Birmingham.'

'How much am I obliged to you,' he writes again in the next month, 'for the pains you have taken in translating La Motte's *Discourse on Fable!* and though I fancy you will find, upon comparing the two, that I have made a good deal use of it, I shall be very glad to have more of it interwoven, if you shall think I have not sufficiently extracted the sense of it. I must own,' he adds, 'my pride (or call it my folly, if you please) would rather chuse to prefix somewhat of my own on that subject, than servilely adopt the thoughts of a Frenchman, though I acknowledge them to be very ingenious. Besides I have had the temerity to differ with him in some respects, which makes it still more improper to take his whole Discourse. I hope,' he adds, after telling his friend that he intends to come to the Leasowes during the next month, 'that Mr Baskerville will be quite ready for me ; I shall send him the paper in a fortnight.' His journey into Warwickshire, however, was postponed for some little time owing to his paying a long promised visit to Mansfield, whither he went from Nottingham, but sometime in August he reached Baskerville's house where he stayed, with occasional runs out to the Leasowes, until the last few sheets were passing through the press. By the beginning

of October, however, he had begun to be impatient at the delay. 'Dodsley,' writes Shenstone to Percy, 'has gone to spurr Baskerville, returns on Friday to spurr me, but,' he adds, 'I believe his original fables will be printed off in about a fortnight, when I shall find myself more at leisure.' A month later, although the work at Birmingham was not yet completed, Dodsley was able to set out again for his London house. 'Mr Dodsley's Fables,' writes Shenstone, 'are not printed off thro' some Mistakes that occasioned y<sup>e</sup> loss of three or four reams of Paper. However w<sup>n</sup> fresh Paper arrives, they will be finished in three days time.' Dodsley's return to London doubtless followed on the fact that he had determined to supplement Baskerville's impression with a cheaper edition printed in London for the use of schools. Baskerville's edition was ultimately published on Feb. 9th, a very beautiful little production, but marred by its 'cuts,' which, being of a lilliputian size, are out of all proportion to the rest of the design, and might very well have been omitted. Shenstone for one was so dissatisfied with them that he caused Alcock, who was then painting his portrait <sup>1</sup> for Dodsley in return for the publisher's portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, to procure a copy of the book from Baskerville before the cuts were inserted and finish them with some devices of his own. The book, however, sold well. By April Shenstone was able to inform Percy that 'Dodsley has sold 2000 of his Fables & begins to talk of second & third editions,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I.



I would have him permit Baskerville to print one more edition for the Curious.' Most of the copies sold, however, would appear to have belonged to the London impression, and in the next month Dodsley was complaining 'that he should lose thirty pounds by Baskerville's impression; and that he should not be more than ten pounds gainer upon the whole.' 'I told him,' writes Shenstone, 'it was enough, in books of this sort, if the first edition paved the way for their future establishment in schools. And surely so it is: for a book of this kind, once established, becomes an absolute estate for many years; and brings in at least as certain and as regular returns. I would wish him to give the polite world one more edition from Baskerville's press; admitting only a new sett of emblematical top and tail-pieces; and confining those empty cuts relating to each fable to the cheap edition which he prints at London. A second edition of this latter sort will appear in a little time; and if you have any improvements to propose, he will very thankfully receive them. Mr Spence offers him to write the life afresh; and Spence, Burke, Lowth, and Melmoth, advise him to discard *Italicks*. I confess he has used them to a very great excess, but yet I do not think they should be utterly discarded.' On the whole, he seems to have shared the general satisfaction shown with the work. 'What merit I have there,' he records, 'is in the Essay'—this passage has caused some to imagine that he was its author, although, as we have seen, Dodsley only made use of his translation of La Motte—'in the

original Fables, although I can hardly claim a single Fable as my own ; and in the Index, which I caused to be thrown into the form of Morals, and which are wholly mine. I wish to God it may sell ; for he has been at great expence about it. The two rivals which he has to dread are, the editions of Richardson and Croxall.'

The book itself was a success, and the original Fables added considerably to Dodsley's literary reputation. His collection, indeed, has often been reprinted, once with illustrations by Bewick, and once or twice at Nottingham. It is sensibly divided into Ancient, Modern, and Original Fables—a tolerable survey of the art. Dodsley's own essay is well worthy of inclusion, and shows him to have been a master of plain and direct prose. A translation of de Meziriac's *Life of Æsop*, which, as Dodsley observes with some surprise, was utterly unknown either to L'Estrange or Croxall, gives the book a completeness which it might otherwise lack. And Shenstone's Index combines novelty of form with conciseness of expression. Its success, indeed may be gauged by the fact that the expensive Baskerville was permitted to print another edition in 1764 shortly before Dodsley's death.

After his *Old Plays* and his *Collection of Poems*, Dodsley's *Select Fables* are the best known of his works.

## CHAPTER XIV

### LAST DAYS

**D**ODSLEY'S various successes in London do not seem to have lessened his interest in, nor his love for, his native Mansfield, but it would appear that he rarely visited the little market town until 1750, the date of his father's death. After that event, indeed, he made several visits to his birthplace, and seems to have had many friends in the neighbourhood. No doubt Mansfield was proud of its poet. The family property had gone to John the second brother, but Dodsley himself was independent. Throughout his life, however, there was one resident of Mansfield, who ever maintained the warmest friendship for the companion of his youth. This was the Mr Wright who is repeatedly mentioned in Dodsley's *Muse in Livery*. There were at this time several families of Wrights at Mansfield, and it is consequently difficult to identify Dodsley's friend, but he was apparently a contemporary of his, had married about 1730, and had at any rate one daughter, who became a frequent visitor both at the *Tully's Head* and, later, at the house in Bruton Street. This Miss Wright seems on several occasions to have helped Dodsley's sister Alice Dyer

to nurse the unfortunate poet, when his attacks of gout were at their worst. She was a frequent correspondent. Three of Dodsley's letters to her have been preserved. The first, which is dated Feb. 24th, 1757, shows well the writer's warm attachment towards his birthplace. 'I beg,' he writes, 'you will make my compliments to every friend in Mansfield who may happen to enquire after me : I cannot help feeling a kind partiality in favour of the place, but fear I am growing too infirm to entertain the hope of ever seeing it again ; which to confess the truth is a reflection by no means agreeable to me.' In the same letter there is an interesting reference to Mr Pope's old friend, Lord Radnor, to whose house at Twickenham, it would seem, Miss Wright had been taken on more than once occasion. ' My good Lord Radnor,' writes Dodsley, ' I am afraid will scarce get over the winter, in whom you will lose an Admirer, who often us'd to enquire after your health ; and I a friend for whom I had a very great regard. Thus our friends drop from us one after another, leaving us at last alone, joyless, comfortless, unconnected ; but thereby kindly disposing us to rejoice in the hope of following them. But methinks,' he continues, remembering the fresh young girl to whom he is writing, ' I hear You cry out, Good Lord ! how grave the man is ? One might have heard a sermon in one's own parish church. 'Tis very true, as you say, & I don't know how it has happen'd ; but I believe I am low spirited. which I never us'd to be.' A few weeks later, however, he was being

cheered by the arrival of Miss Wright and her father. Visits to the theatres and other gaieties followed, and Dodsley gained his usual cheeriness, although at the expense of a cold, contracted, as he records, after a visit to Drury Lane, where he and his friends parted. 'I waited there,' he writes, 'above half an hour before I could meet with a chair, so that getting a cold which again reduc'd me to my flannels, I am now practising Philosophy upon crutches, and,' he adds merrily, 'you cannot conceive what a complacency & respect I grow to have for my self, on the contemplation of my own virtues of Patience & Resignation.' The Wrights immediately invited him to Mansfield, but his gout just then was keeping him to his chair. 'I heartily thank you,' he writes to Miss Wright in May, 'for your kind invitation to Mansfield : y<sup>e</sup> single consideration of being so charmingly nurs'd would be a strong temptation let me tell you. But God bless your Charity, & send you better employment with a man than to wrap his legs in flannel.' Later, however, he was able to travel abroad, and hoped to reach Mansfield during his visit to the Midlands. 'I had fully intended,' he tells his young correspondent at the end of August, 'to have stolen a week from my business there [Birmingham], and slipt away in a Post-chaise to Mansfield. But this I found it impossible to accomplish ; tho' it was very much in my wishes. However, if I should be so happy as to escape the Gout this winter, I may probably be bold enough to make an attempt at seeing Mansfield next Sūmer.' In the same letter



Miss Wright learns of Lord Radnor's death. 'Poor Lord Radnor is gone. He dy'd a day or two after his birth day, having rounded seventy years. He left me a hundred pounds, which I would very gladly have stay'd for some years longer.'

It is doubtful, however, whether Dodsley paid his long intended visit to Mansfield until 1760, but he was there again in the summer of 1761, when he also paid his first visit to Duffield in Derbyshire to see another young friend, Miss Cartwright. Elizabeth Cartwright, whom he calls 'cousin,' though the relationship is obscure, was then twenty-four, 'an ardent admirer of the works of Nature,' and possessed of no little talent for drawing. She was known, indeed, as the Lily of Duffield, and had some little reputation as a poetess. When exactly she made her cousin's acquaintance does not appear, but she refused an engagement in 1761 in order to be at home when Dodsley arrived, and her friendship and admiration for the now rapidly ageing poet increased each year until his death. They were in constant communication, and Dodsley seems to have appreciated the young lady's letters not a little. She was staying with him and his sister Alice at the house in Bruton Street in 1763, and probably that was no by means her first visit. Several of Dodsley's letters to her have been preserved by the Coltman family into which she afterwards married. The earliest of these addressed 'Dear Cousin' is dated May 1, 1761. Another letter written from the Leasowes, July 26th, 1762, whither Dodsley had gone after a visit to Mr Graves, mentions

a new proposal with regard to Shenstone's works, which apparently originated from Dodsley himself. 'Mr Shenstone,' he writes, 'desires his compliments to you; he is preparing to publish his works by subscription, in one volume, quarto, at a guinea, and I fancy he will have a large number of subscribers.' Probably the observant Dodsley had seen the sad state into which his friend's finances had fallen, and proposed this agreeable method of meeting the difficulty. He became, indeed, indefatigable in his efforts to make this proposed undertaking a success, and was only prevented by Shenstone's sudden death in the following February. He paid his dead friend a fitting monument, however, by preparing an edition of his works in two volumes, which only appeared a few months before his own death. His last three years may be said to have been almost entirely devoted to the Warwickshire poet and his various pieces. When he was not composing a set of verses in honour of the King's birthday, or polishing his Fables for a second edition, or editing a rather weird collection of *Fugitive Pieces*, wherein certain essays of such widely different authors as Burke, Spence, Lord Whitworth, John Gilbert Cooper and, curiously enough, Dr Hill, appeared as contributors, he was superintending the edition of Shenstone's own poems and essays. In this task he was no doubt helped considerably by Spence, with whom he passed more and more of his time, and, indeed, after Shenstone's death, the former professor of Poetry was the only one of his early friends left to him.

One may return, however, to Miss Cartwright. The letter written from the Leasowes in 1762 pays her a graceful compliment. 'You wish me,' he writes, 'to send you some people of taste to reside in your village, that you might learn politeness; upon my word you want them not, and we have as much reason to envy Duffield its Miss Cartwright, as you have to envy London its Miss Carter; and, believe, me, the manners of our women of fashion in general would by no means improve your natural politeness.' Dodsley must have known the learned Elizabeth Carter, whose translation of Epictetus he had published some years before, and it may have been through her that he had met Mrs Montagu into whose company he was now going with Shenstone on a small round of visits in the near neighbourhood. Another letter which he wrote to Miss Cartwright in December may be given in full:

'DEAR MADAM,

'You pretend to be proud of my correspondence, but how can that be possible when I am, as you see, so wretched a correspondent? I am afraid you are a little flatterer, and only say this to make me proud of myself; for sure if either of us have cause to be proud, it is I, to have so fine a young lady not disdain now and then to favour with a letter so old a fellow. I thank you for your history of the honest miller; it gave me much pleasure in the reading, yet there was one part of your epistle which gave me more—it is that which contains an

intimation of your design of coming up to town. Pray who are you coming with? I hope with somebody that will not have room for you when in London, as I have now a spare apartment, that will be very much at your service; and it will give both me and my sister, who desires her compliments, a real pleasure if you favour us with your company while you stay in London. I shall be impatient to know when you come, so pray inform me. You will always be welcome; but I should think the best time for yourself would be about the middle of March, as the town will then be full, the Play-houses open, and probably Ranelagh and Vauxhall too, before you need to return. And the weather also, it may be hoped, will be so good as to permit us to take a voyage up the river to Richmond, or down to Greenwich, and will with more pleasure allow you to see the town, than in the darkness and dirt of winter. Pray favour me with a line soon, to confirm my happiness in the certainty that you will come, and when. I beg my compliments to all my cousins; also to Mr Gifford, Mr Bradshaw, and Mrs Mytton.

‘I am, my dear cousin,

‘Affectionately yours,

‘RDODSLEY.’

Miss Cartwright's visit was a success, and Dodsley, one supposes, found in her gay society the distraction he needed after poor Mr Shenstone's death. On April 12th, he is writing to his young friend's father, to know whether her visit may be prolonged. ‘I

will promise you,' he writes, 'to do all in my power to entertain her, and to make her absence from you as supportable as her affection to you will permit.' After her return, Dodsley was instrumental in placing before the queen, one of Miss Cartwright's 'cut-paper' landscapes, but he could do little now, and it must have been with some misgivings he paid a further visit to Bath, to find, however, that the famous waters brought him no relief. 'I can now scarce walk at all,' he complains in another letter, dated Dec. 15th, 'and am afraid my future journeys will be confined to a chair or a coach. But we must submit to these things, they are annexed to humanity, and serve a very good purpose in weaning us from the world.' A few months later, however, he felt equal to setting out with Spence, but it was to prove his last journey. 'Mr Spence,' he writes in April, 1764, 'talks of setting out about the middle of June, and staying a week or ten days at his living on the road, and a day or two at Lord Wentworth's; but for his servants you need give yourself no trouble, for he will have none with him but John. . . . We shall certainly go by Matlock, where I did purpose to stay a few days, while Mr Spence made his visit to the Duke [of Devonshire], but of this we shall better determine when we are upon the spot.' 'I am very well content,' he says in the same letter, 'to continue yet awhile in this dirty planet; nay am afraid I shall be sorry to leave it, when I consider I shall probably leave behind me some very agreeable friends.' And so he cheerily sets out for Bifleet,

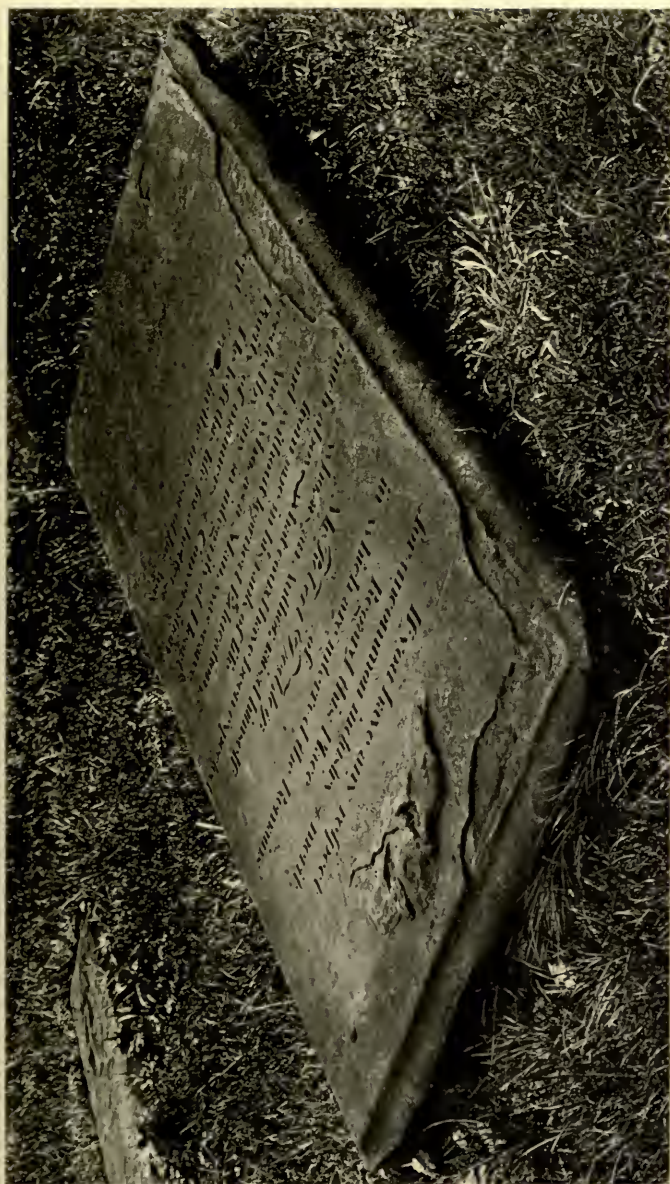


from whence Spence reports his condition to Miss Cartwright. 'Mr Dodsley,' he writes, 'came here on the 9th of June, is better than when I saw him before, and I hope the air and exercise may give a new turn to him. We set out to-morrow morning for my living in Buckinghamshire, not such a paradise as Duffield is ; but rich for the farmer and deep (very deep) for the traveller, at least in all the winter months, and probably still. We are to set out from thence on Monday, the 18th, and if it should not be too much for Mr Dodsley, he going on to Duffield, I turning aside for my old engagement Kirkby, the seat of Lord Wentworth, when I am to rejoin him at your house, and then we may settle the rest of our route.' And so, a little later, Dodsley reached the Cartwright's house, and stayed there a few days before going northwards to Durham, but Spence's house by the cathedral was reached before the end of July. Pathetic news soon came to the people at Duffield. 'Mr Dodsley,' writes Spence, 'who is pure well for a man in his condition, joins me in hearty thanks to you and all the good family for all your goodness to us at Duffield ; and in all services to all friends there. We came on so leisurely that we did not get hither till the 17th in the evening, and on the road I had prevailed on my very honest cripple of a companion to promise me that he would attempt to walk round my garden here (which is about 500 ft.) once every day for the first week, twice for the second, and so on to four times a day, which would have been towards half-a-mile ; but all this fine scheme was

defeated the very first morning after he arrived here ; for, upon making the experiment of one round only, Mr Dodsley was so excessively fatigued that I have never been able to get him to venture upon a second. I am now endeavouring to make it practicable by preparing three resting places for him ; one is a chair placed in a sort of grotto hollowed under the house ; another is by a little turning seat on a knoll that takes in a prospect of the country, and particularly the London Road ; and the third is a bench with a foot board, quite covered and surrounded with a little grove. Now, if he will take *Gil Blas*, or any other good book in his hand, he may walk from one of these seats to another, and read as long as he pleases at each, and by this means may very well be in the air an hour or two whenever he pleases.'

Joseph Spence's kind assiduity, however, was of no avail, and though the poor ailing poet did his best to walk from one stopping place to the next, he daily grew weaker. His host must have seen that his friend would never again be able to leave Durham—although at the end of July Dodsley does not seem to have realized his own danger—and prepared to make his last days as comfortable as possible. There was nothing to be done, and Dodsley slowly sank. He died on Sunday, Sept. 23rd,<sup>1</sup> and was buried two days later in the burial-ground attached to the Cathedral. An inscription, which may still be seen, was placed upon the grave.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix III.



ROBERT DODSLEY'S GRAVE IN THE CATHEDRAL BURYING-GROUND



' If you have any respect  
For uncommon industry and merit  
    Regard this place  
In which are interred the remains  
    of  
    Mr Robert Dodsley  
Who as an author raised himself  
Much above what could have been expected  
    From one in his rank of life  
And without a learned education.  
Who as a man was scarce exceeded by any  
    In integrity of heart  
And purity of manners and conversation.  
He left this world for a better  
    September 23rd 1764  
In the 61st year of his age.'

Dodsley's character is not hard to estimate. ' You are a lucky man,' wrote Edmund Burke to him upon one occasion, ' and meet friends wherever you go ' ; and, indeed, this single sentence succinctly describes him. From a friendless footman forced to educate himself in the least congenial of surroundings, he came to be ' the little friend of all the world.' And so it happened that his worth was recognized by men of very different calibre. His ready wit endeared him to the wits, scrupulous honesty gave him an honourable position in his business, true poetic feeling brought him friends amongst the most notable writers of his time. Though his literary career cannot have satisfied his ambitions, his success with *Cleone* may be supposed to have lessened any disappointment he may have felt after the failure of his *Public Virtue* ; but the mere fact that he should have projected such a poem in itself indicates the man's character. He was not a great writer ; he is not remembered now as a poet, but he



was a man who played a not inconsiderable part in the literary history of the eighteenth century, a part that is not equalled in point of importance by any other bookseller of the time.

That he had faults will not be denied. An occasional unnecessary obsequience mars some of his letters and proclaims a trace of the footman. His, too, was not a commanding personality. He rose, not so much by making people accept him as by accepting people who from various reasons were desirous to help him. He was too ready to accept writers of no more than his own merit as superiors, too willing to accept literary judgment from his numerous 'band of authors.' Yet he ever endeavoured to live up to his ideals, and into his sixty years of life crowded a myriad of interests, none of them petty, none of them beneath his dignity as a man of letters.

There are many contemporary references to him which might be quoted, but one or two will perhaps suffice. Shenstone, for one, esteemed him far higher than his behaviour on certain occasions might suggest. At the beginning of the volume of Dodsley's autograph letters which he caused to be bound for him in 1759, he writes: 'A person whose writings I esteem in common with the Publick; But of whose Simplicity, Benevolence, Humanity, and true Politeness, I have had repeated and particular experience.' And, indeed, these words bear no exaggeration. Dodsley might be without education, but a long life spent in the society of literary and artistic people,

and much reading had educated him more surely than a five years' course at one of the Universities might have done. The education that comes to the man in love with life is of far more importance than the forced, if politer, education that is given to the boy. Isaac Reed, the Shakespearian scholar, speaks of him in similar terms on the occasion of his reissuing the famous *Collection of Old Plays*. Dodsley, he writes in his preface, was 'a man to whom literature is under so many obligations that it would be unpardonable to neglect this opportunity of informing those who may have received any pleasure from the work, that they owe it to a person whose merit and abilities raised him from an obscure situation in life to affluence and independence. Modest, sensible and humane, he retained the virtues which first brought him into notice, after he had obtained wealth sufficient to satisfy every wish which could arise from the possession of it. He was a generous friend, an encourager of men of genius, and acquired the esteem and respect of all who were acquainted with him. *It was his happiness to pass the greater part of his life with those whose names will be revered by posterity.*' And it is on account of his various friendships that the story of his life must appeal to all who are interested in the eighteenth century.

Isaac Reed's few words give, indeed, the pith of his character. Dodsley was a man of a serious turn of mind, full of sentiment which was occasionally extended into sentimentality, whose happiness depended most of all upon the domestic virtues. Of

his purely literary merit, however, despite the acclamations of some of his contemporaries, it is impossible to speak in very high terms. The reflected glory of his friends has vanished with the source of it, and a more sober judgment will place him amongst the minor people of his time. He had been born with a certain literary taste, and had early developed a liking for books. If one considers, moreover, the really rather surprising success that was secured by most of his dramatic productions, one is bound at the same time to wonder why they should so soon have been relegated to a background of obscurity. The answer would appear to be simple, for it seems that without any very astounding genius, he was able by the exercise of some unknown instinct to discern the precise turn of public opinion and popular taste, and so well managed the appearance of his works that they came in almost every case at the crest of the wave. In many ways, indeed, Dodsley may be said to have been ahead of his day. The *Toy-shop* was something fresh—it made people think of themselves; the *Miller of Mansfield* was one of the first dramatic pieces that illustrated a local legend; the *Chronicle of the Kings* popularized the language of the Bible; the *Oeconomy of Human Life* aimed at a novelty of form; while domesticity, the keynote of *Cleone*, was at that time almost unknown as a subject for the dramatist's art. And so in a little way, in an agreeable little way, Dodsley advanced letters. Let him have merit for that.

In Cooke's edition of Dodsley's poems—it must

be borne in mind that the three largest collections of British Poets all give a separate volume or division to Dodsley—a ‘candid and judicious writer’ says of him: ‘As an author he merits honourable mention. This is possibly more pregnant than the ‘candid and judicious writer’ may have imagined. For, indeed, Dodsley’s work entitles him to be amongst those whom the examiner of the literature of the eighteenth century might place together with the words *proxime accessunt*. His worth is recognized, there are in it even occasional glimpses of something in the first rank, but he can only be honourably mentioned; he is not a prize-winner. And this judgment is rendered all the easier from a certain uniformity in all his works. As all his biographers have said, he possesses wit, neatness and considerable technique, and if he never rises very high, he never sinks very low. The dialogue of his *Miller*, for example, is pointed and well-woven: there is in it some feeling and some dramatic sense. *Cleone* has similar charms: so has the *Oeconomy of Human Life*, but there is nothing distinctive, nothing that a hundred other men of his day could not have written with equal ease, with equal success, and nothing, with one or two exceptions, that will be remembered. But like many mediocrities who have left a mass of undistinguished writings, Dodsley is the author of at least one song which is near to immortality. In his *One kind kiss before we part*, he seems to have approached nearer to the essence of deep love and feeling than on any other occasion of his somewhat vegetable exist-

ence. By meeting continually men of wit, too, he himself became capable of neat epigram, and the following two verses show him at his best :

‘ Cries Sylvia to a reverend dean,  
What reason can be given,  
Since marriage is a holy thing,  
That there are none in Heaven ?

There are no women, he reply’d :  
She quick returns the jest—  
Women there are, but I’m afraid  
They cannot find a priest ! ’

It is, then, not primarily as a writer or poet that Dodsley may be regarded with feelings of interest. It is rather as a remarkable personage, who, like his erstwhile master Mr Dartineuf, knew everyone and everything, that he deserves a higher place than he has hitherto secured. The man who had been patronized by Defoe and Pope, the man who had first published for Johnson and Gray, the man with whom Horace Walpole and David Garrick delighted to dine, the man, too, who had fathered the *Annual Register* and introduced Edmund Burke to half the world, is certainly entitled to some consideration. Mr Edmond Gosse succinctly sums up the situation. It would, he says, in a letter which the author is permitted to quote, be impossible to make ‘ a genteel hero of the little man ’ or ‘ a great writer. He was just “ Doddy ”—everybody’s friend, in love with books and bookish people, a delightful serviceable bourgeois personality. And,’ he continues, ‘ Robert Dodsley was in some curious respects like, or parallel



with, Izaak Walton. Each was a serviceable man, of low degree but self-respecting, each enthusiastic about literary society of the higher kind, and each, in a very exclusive age, admitted to more or less free intercourse with learned men of quality. In a future life, we could imagine Izaak Walton selling the hosiery which Dodsley wore before he rose to be a footman.' And so it is : both Walton and Dodsley have a niche to themselves, the fisherman with his popular hand-book, the bookseller with his anthologies and plays. Walton, maybe, was the greater man : Dodsley was no less loveable, no less interesting.

The few lines that he wrote to a friend, desirous of having his advice, fitly enshrine his own simple philosophy :

' Dost thou, my friend, desire to rise  
To honour, wealth and dignities,  
Virtue's paths, tho' trod by few,  
With constant steps do thou pursue.  
For as the coward-soul admires  
That courage which the brave inspires ;  
And his own quarrels to defend,  
Gladly makes such a one his friend ;  
So in a world which rogues infest,  
How is an honest man caress'd !  
The villains from each other fly,  
And on his virtue safe rely ! '



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

(A) A LIST OF DODSLEY'S OWN WORKS, published during his lifetime, arranged in order of their first editions.

1729.

*Servitude*: a Poem. To which is prefix'd, An Introduction, humbly Submitted to the Consideration of all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ladies, who keep many Servants. Also a Postscript Occasion'd by a late Trifling Pamphlet, entituled, Every Body's Business, is no Body's [by Daniel Defoe]. . . . Written by a Footman. In Behalf of Good Servants, and to excite the Bad to their Duty. London . . . T. Worrall. . . . Price 6d. 8vo. Published Sept. 19. B.M.

[Second Edition the same, but altered title-page]: *The Footman's Friendly Advice to his Brethren of the Livery* . . . by R.D. now a Footman. 1731. 8vo. B.M.

1731.

*An Epistle from a Footman in London to the Celebrated Stephen Duck*. Price 6d. See *Gent. Mag.* list of books, Feb. 1731. Reprinted in *Muse in Livery*, 1732.

*A Sketch of the Miseries of Poverty*. Price 6d. See *Gent. Mag.* list of books, Nov. 1731. Reprinted in *Muse in Livery*, 1732.

1732.

*A Muse in Livery : or the Footman's Miscellany*. London : Printed for the Author, 1732. 8vo. Preface signed R. Dodsley. Frontispiece by P. Fourdrinier. 5 pp. subscribers. Text pp. 151. B.M.

The Second Edition, 1732. *The Muse in Livery* . . . by R. Dodsley, a Footman to a person of Quality at Whitehall. . . . London . . . for T. Osborn . . . and J. Nourse. 8vo. Text pp. 102. B.M.

*An Entertainment designed for Her Majesty's Birthday*. London. 1732. 8vo. See D.N.B., Art. R. Dodsley. Also printed in *Muse in Livery*.

*An Entertainment designed for the Wedding of Governour Lowther, and Miss Pennington.* London, 1732. 8vo. See D.N.B., Art. R. Dodsley. Also printed in *Muse in Livery*.

1734.

*The Modern Reasoners* . . . an Epistle to a Friend. . . . London . . . for L. Gilliver, 1734. Fo. Reprinted in *Trifles*, 1745. B.M.

Another Edition, 1734. 8vo. Private Collection.

*An Epistle to Mr Pope, Occasion'd by his Essay on Man.* By Robert Dodsley. London . . . for L. Gilliver, 1734. Fo. Reprinted in *Trifles*, 1745. Private Collection.

1735.

*Beauty, or the Art of Charming.* A Poem. London . . . for L. Gilliver, 1735. Fo. Published Jan. 6. B.M.

*The Toyshop*, a Dramatick Satire. By Robert Dodsley, Author of the *Art of Charming*. London . . . for L. Gilliver, 1735. 8vo. 1s. Published Feb. 6. B.M.

Second Edition, 1735. Published Feb. 21. B.M.

Third [pirated] Edition, 1735. London . . . for J. Wright. B.M.

Fourth Edition, 1735. Published April.

Sixth Edition, 1735. Private Collection.

Seventh Edition [? 1737]. With Epistles and Poems. Mentioned in an advertisement of Dodsley's, 1737. 6d.

Eighth Edition [? 1739]. With Preface.

Eleventh Edition, 1745. Included in *Trifles*. B.M.

*La Boutique du Bijoutier.* (Choix de petites pièces du Théâtre anglais.) Londres [Paris], 1756.

1737.

*The King and the Miller of Mansfield.* A Dramatick Tale. By R. Dodsley, Author of *The Toyshop*. London . . . for the Author . . . 1737. [Price One Shilling.] 8vo. B.M.

Another Edition, 1737. Dublin, reprinted for G. Faulkner. B.M.

Another Edition, 1745. Included in *Trifles*. B.M.

Another Edition, n.d. [c. 1750]. 'As it was Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane.' London . . . for the Author. 8vo. With frontispiece. B.M.

*Le Roi et le Meunier.* (Choix de petites pièces du Théâtre anglais.) Londres [Paris], 1756.

A New Song sung in the Play of *The King and the Miller of Mansfield*. n.p. n.d. s.sh. slip. 1737. B.M.

1738.

*The Art of Preaching . . . in Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry.* London . . . for R. Dodsley, 1738. [Price One Shilling.]  
Fo. B.M.

*Sir John Cockle at Court.* Being the Sequel of *The King and the Miller of Mansfield.* A Dramatick Tale. By R. Dodsley. London . . . for R. Dodsley, 1738. 8vo. B.M.

Another Edition, 1738. Dublin, reprinted for G. Faulkner. B.M.

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1740.

*The Chronicle of the Kings of England.* Written in the Manner of the ancient Jewish Historians. By Nathan Ben Saddi, a Priest of the Jews. London . . . for T. Cooper, 1740. Published April. 8vo.

This first edition only goes up to the end of Elizabeth's reign, and has a postscript explaining why the work was not carried to a later date. B.M.

The Second Book. London . . . for T. Cooper, 1741. 8vo.

This contains the Chronicle for the reign of Elizabeth 'unto the present time.' A list of books printed for R. Dodsley occurs at the end. B.M.

Another Edition, 1742. 8vo. Both books. B.M.

Another Edition, 1745. Included in *Trifles.*

*Chronique des Rois d'Angleterre . . . traduite en françois dans le même stile.* Londres, chez T. Cooper, 1743. 8vo. B.M.

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*Die Bücher der Chronick derer Könige von Engellend.* . . . Franckfurt und Leipsig, 1744. 8vo. B.M.

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1741.

*The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green.* By R. Dodsley. London . . . for R. Dodsley, 1741. [Price One Shilling.] 8vo. B.M.

Another edition, 1745. Included in *Trifles.* B.M.

Another edition, 1758. Glasgow. B.M.

*L'Aveugle de Bethnal Green.* (Choix de petites pièces du Théâtre anglais.) Londres [Paris], 1756.



1742.

- Colin's Kisses*. Being Twelve New Songs design'd for Music. . . .  
 London . . . for R. Dodsley . . . 1742. Price 6d. 4to.  
 Reprinted in *Trifles*, 1745.  
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 [Price One Shilling and Sixpence.] B.M.

1743.

- Pain and Patience*, a Poem. By R. Dodsley. London . . . for  
 R. Dodsley . . . 1742 [misprint for 1743]. Price Sixpence.  
 4to. Reprinted in *Trifles*, 1745. B.M.

1744.

- A Select Collection of Old Plays*. 12 vols. [Edited by Robert  
 Dodsley.] London . . . for R. Dodsley. 8vo. B.M.

1745.

- Rex & Pontifex*, being an Attempt to introduce upon the Stage a  
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- Trifles*: viz., The Toyshop, The King and the Miller of Mansfield,  
 The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green, *Rex & Pontifex*, The  
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 The Right of Mankind to do what they will asserted. With  
 several others, not more considerable. By R. Dodsley. At  
 Tully's Head in Pall-Mall, 1745. 8vo. B.M.  
 [2nd. ed. with additional volume issued in 1777.]

1748.

- A Collection of Poems by Several Hands*. [Edited by Robert  
 Dodsley.] In Three Volumes. London . . . for R. Dodsley.  
 1748. 12mo. B.M.  
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1749.

*The Triumph of Peace*, a Masque. Perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, on Occasion of the General Peace, concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. . . . Written by R. Dodsley. Set to Musick by Mr Arne. London . . . for R. Dodsley, 1749. 8vo. (some copies on large paper). B.M.

1750.

*The Oeconomy of Human Life*. Translated from an Indian Manuscript, written by an Ancient Bramin. To which is prefixed, An Account of the Manner in which the said Manuscript was discover'd. In a Letter from an English Gentleman, now residing in China, to the Earl of ——. London . . . for M. Cooper. . . . 1751. 8vo. First part only. Published in November, 1750. A copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dated 1750, and containing some different readings, is probably made up from proof sheets. See *Athenæum*, 1904, ii., pp. 177-8.

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## TRANSLATIONS.

## (a) French—

*L'Economie de la Vie Humaine*. La Haye, Scheurleer, 1751.

*Le Bramine Inspiré*. Berlin, chez Etienne de Bourdeaux. 1st part. Lescallier, translator. B.M.

*L'Oeconomie ou la Règle de la Vie Humaine*. Londres, Dodsley, 1751. De la Douespe, translator. 1st part.

*L'Oeconomie*. . . . Londres, P. Valliant. 1st part. Desprefays, translator. B.M.

*L'Economie*. . . . Edimbourg, 1752.

*Le Philosophe indien*. Amsterdam, E. van Harrevelt, 1760.

*Elezir de la Morale Indienne*. Paris, Ganeau, 1760.

(b) German. Strasburg, 1752.

(c) Italian. Milano, B. Sistori, 1752. 1st part. 12mo. Palozzi, translator. B.M.

(d) Latin. Londini, M. Cooper, 1752. W. Massey, translator. B.M.

(e) Spanish. Madrid, E. Bicco, 1755. 1st part. 16mo. De Junco y Pimental, translator. B.M.

## PARAPHRASES.

*Recte vivendo ratio.* . . . Nath. Ball. Lond., J. Buckland, 1754. 8vo. B.M.

*A Paraphrase on part of* . . . in verse. Boston (U.S.A.), Green & Russell, 1759. B.M.

1753.

*Public Virtue* : a Poem in Three Books. I. Agriculture, II. Commerce, III. Arts. By R. Dodsley. London . . . for R. & J. Dodsley, 1753. 4to. Bk. I. only. B.M.

1757.

*Melpomene, or the Regions of Terror and Pity.* London, Printed in the Year 1757. 4to. Reprinted with *Cleone*, 1758. B.M.

1758.

*Cleone.* A Tragedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. Written by R. Dodsley. London . . . for R. & J. Dodsley . . . 1758. [Price One Shilling and Sixpence.] 8vo. B.M.

The Second Edition, 1758.

The Third Edition, 1759. With Introduction. B.M.

1761.

*Select Fables of Esop and other Fabulists.* In Three Books. Birmingham, printed by John Baskerville . . . for R. & J. Dodsley . . . 1761. [Price bound, Five Shillings.] 8vo. B.M.

Another Edition, 1761. London . . . for R. & J. Dodsley. 8vo. Published April 21. 3s. Private Collection.

Third Edition, 1762. London. Published Mar. 17.

Another Edition, 1762. London. Published Dec. 11.

Another Edition, 1764. Birmingham, printed by John Baskerville. . . . B.M.

1764.

*The Works in Verse and in Prose of William Shenstone, Esq.,* most of which were never before printed. In Two Volumes. [Edited by Robert Dodsley] . . . London . . . for R. & J. Dodsley . . . 1764. 8vo. B.M.

(B) A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ALL THE BOOKS PUBLISHED BY ROBERT DODSLEY, or bearing his name on

the title-page (1735-1764), with dates of publication, notices of authors' agreements, extracts from advertisements and unpublished letters. The names immediately following the entries refer to Dodsley's partners in the particular book. The [S.] distinguishes those books for which he acted merely as agent. Where no copy has been seen, the sources of information have been the advertisements in the *General Advertiser* or the *Gentleman's Magazine*. It is possible that certain entries which have Dodsley's name in these advertisements do not bear it on their title-pages. No mention is made of the various Maps, Proposals to Print, nor of the Memorandum Books that followed the appearance of the first in 1748.

## 1735.

- May 17. POPE (ALEXANDER). *The Works of . . .* Vol. II. Fo. and 4to. Knapton, Gilliver, Brindley. *Gen. Adv.*  
 - - DUNCOMBE (WILLIAM). *Junius Brutus*, a Tragedy. The Second Edition. B.M.  
 Joseph Warton mentions an edition of Pope's *Ethic Epistles* issued by Dodsley this year.

## 1736.

- Jan. - LOCKMAN (JOHN). *An Ode to the Memory of the Duke of Buckingham*. 6d. *Gent. Mag.*  
 Mar. 18. NORTON (THOMAS) and SACKVILLE (THOMAS, Lord BUCKHURST). *Gorboduc*, a tragedy. 1s. *Gen. Adv.*  
 „ 25. *The Cupid*. A Collection of Love Songs, in twelve parts. B.M.  
 Apr. 1. [DALTON (JOHN).] *An Epistle to a young Nobleman from his Præceptor*. 1s. B.M.  
 - - LOCKMAN (JOHN). *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan*. A lyric poem. Set to musick by Mr Boyce and performed in the Apollo Society, April 16, 1736. B.M.

## 1737.

- Feb. 8. DODSLEY (ROBERT). *The King and the Miller of Mansfield*. 1s. B.M.

- Mar. 8. DRAYTON (MICHAEL). *England's Heroical Epistles*, written in Imitation of the Stile and Manner of Ovid's Epistles. With Annotations. 3s. With dedication 'To Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales' by Robert Dodsley. B.M.
- Apr. 2. GLOVER (RICHARD). *Leonidas*, a poem. 4to. B.M.
- „ 28. POPE (ALEXANDER). *The Second Epistle of the Second Book of Horace Imitated*. 1s. B.M.
- May 1. [BEECH (THOMAS).] *Eugenio*, a poem inscribed to Mr Pope. 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- June 25. SAVAGE (RICHARD). *Of Public Spirit in Regard to Public Works*. An Epistle to His Royal Highness Frederick, Prince of Wales. 1s. B.M.
- „ - POPE (ALEXANDER). *Letters of . . .* and several of his Friends. Knapton, Gilliver, Brindley. Wright, printer. Half-title reads *The Works of Mr Alexander Pope, in Prose*. B.M.
- Nov. 1. OGLE (GEORGE). *The Miser's Feast*. The Eighth Satire of the Second Book of Horace imitated. A Dialogue between the Author and the Poet-laureat. 1s. B.M.
- - POPE (ALEXANDER). *The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated*. 1s. B.M.

1738.

- Jan. 28. TASSO (TORQUATO). *Tasso's Jerusalem*, an epic poem, translated from the Italian. By Henry Brooke. Book I. 1s. Hughs, printer. B.M.
- Feb. 28. DODSLEY (ROBERT). *Sir John Cockle at Court*. Being the Sequel of *The King and the Miller of Mansfield*. 1s. B.M.
- „ - BRANCH (THOMAS). *Thoughts on Dreaming*. Joliffe B.M.
- Mar. 1. *An Ode on the Times*. Address'd to . . . the Hope of Britain. B.M.
- „ 2. SAVAGE (RICHARD). *The Volunteer Laureat*. No. 7. 6d. Cave, printer. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 7. MILTON (JOHN). *Comus*, a Mask: (now adapted to the stage) as alter'd [by John Dalton] from Milton's Mask at Ludlow Castle. 1s. Hughs, printer. B.M.
- - MILTON (JOHN). *Comus*. . . . The Second Edition. 1s. B.M.
- - MILTON (JOHN). *Comus*. . . . The Third Edition. 1s. B.M.



- Mar. 20. SALIGNAC DE LA MOTTE FENELON (FRANCOIS DE). *Les Aventures de Telemaque, fils d'Ulysse*. 2 vols. 14s. B.M.
- Apr. 6. TASSO (TORQUATO). *Jerusalem* . . . translated. Book II. 1s. B.M.
- „ 18. [DODSLEY (ROBERT).] *The Art of Preaching: in Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry*. 1s. B.M.
- „ „ *What is Man? An Ode*. 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 25. OGLE (GEORGE). *The Eleventh Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated*. 6d. B.M.
- „ - [JOHNSON (SAMUEL).] *London: a Poem, in Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal*. B.M.
- „ - [JOHNSON (SAMUEL).] *London*. . . . The Second Edition. B.M.
- May 18. PEMBERTON (HENRY). *Observations on Poetry*, especially the epic: Occasioned by the late poem upon Leonidas. 2s. [S.] Woodfall, printer. B.M.
- - GLOVER (RICHARD). *Leonidas*. . . . The Second Edition. B.M.
- „ 30. GLOVER (RICHARD). *Leonidas*. . . . The Third Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- June 22. [POPE (ALEXANDER).] *The Universal Prayer*. By the Author of the Essay on Man. 6d. B.M.
- „ - OGLE (GEORGE). *The First Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated*. 1s. *Gent. Mag.* Other Epistles seem to have been published at the same time.
- July 15. [JOHNSON (SAMUEL).] *London*. . . . The Third Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 18. POPE (ALEXANDER). *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Eight*. Dialogue Two. 1s. [1st Dialogue published by T. Cooper.] B.M.
- Aug. 22. TASSO (TORQUATO). *Jerusalem* . . . translated. . . . Book III. 1s. B.M.
- Sept. 21. *Three Epistles Imitated from the French of Voltaire*. 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- Oct. 7. SMITH (ROBERT). *A Compleat System of Opticks*. 2 vols. 3os. [S.] B.M.
- „ 26. OGLE (GEORGE). *The Third Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated*. 6d. B.M.

1739.

- Jan. 11. POPE (ALEXANDER). *Poems*. 4to. 5s. Knapton, Brindley, Gilliver. *Gen. Adv.*

- Jan. 29. POPE (ALEXANDER). *The Works of* . . . Vol. II. Containing his Epistles, etc. B.M.
- „ - *Ode to His Royal Highness on his Birthday.* 6d. B.M.
- Feb. 3. WHITEHEAD (PAUL). *Manners: a Satire.* 1s. B.M.
- „ 24. *Ode to William Pulteney, with other Poems.* 1s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*  
*Gent. Mag.* for this month gives an edition of *Measuring Completed* by J. W[oodcock] as Dodsley's publication. An edition dated 1738 does not bear his name.
- Mar. 8. ROWE (ELIZABETH). *Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse.* 2 vols. Hett. B.M.  
 At the end of Vol. II. in a list of books 'printed for R. Dodsley,' occurs Rapin's *Critical Works*, Two Volumes Octavo. This may be the 1731 edition, the remaining copies of which Dodsley purchased.
- „ 15. OGLE (GEORGE). *The Eighth Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated.* 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ „ OGLE (GEORGE). *The Ninth Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated.* 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 19. *Ode to William Pulteney.* The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- Apr. 3. PERSIUS. *The First Satire of Persius.* Translated into English Verse by Mr Dudley. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 24. BROOKE (HENRY). *Gustavus Vasa, the Deliverer of his Country.* A Tragedy. 1s. 6d. Some copies on a royal paper at 5s. B.M.  
 Brooke, whose play had been banned by the censor, issued the following advertisement in connection with this edition. 'Whereas a pyrate Edition of my Play is publish'd, I humbly hope none of my Friends who did me the Honour to subscribe will think me in the wrong in taking this Method to secure my Property. And I hereby give Notice to all Booksellers and Pamphleteers, that whoever can be prov'd to sell any other Edition than this shall certainly be prosecuted with the utmost Severity.'
- May 10. *An Epistle to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole.* 1s. B.M.
- „ 21. SAVAGE (RICHARD). *Of Public Spirit.* . . . The Second Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ - NEWTON (SIR ISAAC). *The Philosophy of* . . . explain'd for the Use of the Ladies. In Six Dialogues. 2 vols. 5s. [S.] Cave, printer. *Gent. Mag.*
- June 2. GLOVER (RICHARD). *Leonidas.* . . . The Fourth Edition. B.M.

- June - OGLE (GEORGE). *Gualtherus and Griselda: or, the Clerk of Oxford's Tale from Boccace, Petrarch and Chaucer.* 3s. B.M.
- Oct. 16. BOYLE (ROGER, EARL OF ORRERY). *Dramatic Works.* 2 vols. B.M.
- Dec. 15. OGLE (GEORGE). *The Twelfth Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated.* 1s. Gen. Adv.
- „ 30. *Some Reflections upon the Administration of Government.* 1s. 6d. Dated 1740. B.M.
- - NUGENT (R. C., Earl NUGENT). *Odes and Epistles.* B.M.
- - NUGENT (R. C., Earl NUGENT). *Odes and Epistles.* The Second Edition. B.M.
- - [JOHNSON (SAMUEL).] *London.* . . . The Fourth Edition. B.M.

## 1740.

- Feb. 26. DE FREVAL (J. B.). *The History of the Heavens.* 2 vols. 10s. [S.] Gen. Adv.
- Apr. 15. *A New Ballad on the Taking of Porto Bello.* 6d. Gen. Adv.
- „ 22. VIRGIL. *The Aeneid of Virgil.* Translated by Mr [Christopher] Pitt. 2 vols. £1. A few copies on superfine paper at £1 11s. 6d. B.M.
- „ „ CHAUCER (GEOFFREY). *The Canterbury Tales . . . in the Original . . . with References.* 5s. [S.] Gen. Adv.
- May 1. POPE (ALEXANDER). *The Works of . . .* Vol. II. Part II. Containing Imitations of Horace and Dr Donne. B.M.
- „ 3. *Hardyknute: a Fragment.* Being the First Canto of an Epic Poem: with General Remarks and Notes. 1s. B.M.
- „ - TURNBULL (GEORGE), trans. *Three Dissertations . . .* by the Abbé de Vertot . . . the Abbé Fraguier . . . Mr Boindin. 3s. B.M.
- June 14. DUGUET (ABBÉ). *The Institution of a Prince; or, A Treatise of the Virtues and Duties of a Sovereign.* Translated from the French. 2 vols. 8s. B.M.

## 1741.

- Jan. 3. *The Publick Register: or Weekly Magazine.* 24 numbers. 3d. B.M.

- Jan. 8. *An Ode to Mankind.* Address'd to the Prince of Wales. 1s. B.M.
- „ 22. WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *The Danger of Writing Verse,* an Epistle. *Gen. Adv.*
- Feb. 17. DUCK (STEPHEN). *Hints to a Schoolmaster.* 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 21. RICCOBONI (LEWIS). *An Historical and Critical Account of the Theatres in Europe.* 5s. Waller. B.M.
- Mar. 10. DUCK (STEPHEN). *Every Man in His Own Way.* 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 12. W. (E.). *A Paraphrase on the Hundred and fourth Psalm,* in Verse. 1s. B.M.
- „ 19. *The Art of Poetry.* 1s. B.M.
- „ 26. CHESELDEN (WILLIAM). *The Anatomy of the Human Body.* The Sixth Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- Apr. 7. DODSLEY (ROBERT). *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green.* 1s. B.M.
- „ 23. [SHENSTONE (WILLIAM).] *The Judgment of Hercules,* a Poem. Inscrib'd to George Lyttelton, Esq. 1s. B.M.
- „ 28. BOCCACCIO (GIOVANNI). *The Decameron, or Ten Days' Entertainment of Boccace.* Translated from the Italian. 6s. B.M.  
 'It is now upwards of 100 Years since a Translation of these excellent Novels was attempted in English, the language of which is so obsolete and uncouth, that it is almost unintelligible and does great Injustice to this ingenious and witty Author.' *Gen. Adv.* Further adv. in a few days. 'As some People have objected to this Author, on Account of the Levity and Wantonness of his Genius, this is to assure the Publick that such care has been taken in this Translation to render the Expression delicate and decent, that even the Ladies need not be afraid of reading or having these ingenious Novels.'
- „ 30. POPE (ALEXANDER). *The Works of . . . in Prose.* Vol. II. 4to., £1 1s.; Fo., 10s. 6d.; or large paper folio, £1 1s. in sheets. Knapton, Bathurst. B.M.
- June 16. *Select Discourses read to the Academy of Belles Lettres and Inscriptions at Paris.* Translated from the Memoirs of the Academy. 5s. B.M.
- Aug. 22. *An Introduction towards an Essay on the Origin of the Passions.* 6d. B.M.
- Sept. 24. WOOD (JOHN). *The Origin of Building : or the Plagiarism of the Heathens Detected.* 24s. [S.] B.M.

- Oct. 1. *The Ladies' Tales: Exemplifying the Virtues and Vices of the Quality, with Reflections. The Third Edition.* 1s. 6d. [S.] B.M.
- Nov. 28. BOYLE (JOHN, Earl of ORRERY). *Pyrrha, an Imitation of the Fifth Ode of the First Book of Horace.* 6d. B.M.
- - MILTON (JOHN). *Comus . . . alter'd. . . .* The Sixth Edition. 1s. B.M.
- - DE FREVAL (J. B.). *The History of the Heavens.* The Second Edition. 2 vols. 10s. [S.] B.M.

## 1742.

- Feb. 16. [MORRIS (ROBERT).] *Fatal Necessity, or Liberty Re-gain'd.* A Tragedy as it was once acted in Rome. 1s. Amey, Brindley. B.M.
- " 23. [WEST (GILBERT).] *The Institution of the Order of the Garter.* A Dramatick Poem. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- " 27. SYDNEY (ALGERNON). *Letters to the Honourable Henry Saville, Ambassador in France.* In the Year 1679. . . . 3s. B.M.
- Mar. 11. SPILMAN (JAMES). *A Journey through Russia into Persia, 1739.* By Two English Gentlemen. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- Apr. 6. CERVANTES SAAVEDRA (MIGUEL). *The Life and Exploits of the ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote de la Mancha.* Translated from the Original Spanish by Charles Jarvis. 2 vols. 50s. 69 copper-plates. Tonson. B.M.
- Agreement exists between Dodsley and Penelope Jarvis, dated May 7, 1742, wherein she assigns 'the copyright of her husband's translation of Don Quixote' for £21 and 15 free copies. There is also an agreement between Dodsley and the Tonsons for the publication of this book, wherein Mr Pope is named as referee in case of dispute.
- May 15. [SHENSTONE (WILLIAM).] *The School-mistress, a Poem.* In Imitation of Spenser. 6d. B.M.
- June 5. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint; or Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality.* [Night the First.] Fo. 1s. B.M.
- This first edition in folio is not mentioned by any of the bibliographers, who all describe the 1742 edition as 4to or 8vo. Probably this was the only part issued in folio.
- July 8. POPE (ALEXANDER). *The Works of . . .* Vol. III. Part II. Containing the Dunciad, Book IV., and the Memoirs of Scriblerus. Never Before Printed. 8vo. B.M.



- July 31. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint*. . . . Night the First. The Second Edition. 1s. B.M.
- Nov. 13. [DODSLEY (ROBERT).] *Colin's Kisses*. Being Twelve New Songs Design'd for Music. 6d. B.M.
- „ 16. *Fashion*, a Satire. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 23. BAKER (HENRY). *The Microscope made Easy*. 5s. Agreement between Baker and Dodsley. B.M. The Book to be called *A Treatise on Microscopes*, and to consist of fifty chapters: Dodsley to purchase the copyright at the rate of a guinea a sheet for the first edition, and half a guinea a sheet for future editions, which are not to be printed for two years. [This was not followed.] Baker to receive twenty free copies, and Dodsley to print a first edition of a thousand copies 'in the same sized Letter with a Book called Lord Paget's Miscellanies,' and 'to procure Nine Copper plates to be engraved.' *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 25. HORACE. *The Art of Architecture*. In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry. 1s. B.M.
- „ 30. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint*. . . . Night the Second. 1s. Cooper. B.M.
- Dec. 16. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint*. . . . The Third Night. 1s. Cooper. B.M.
- „ 23. [DODSLEY (ROBERT).] *Colin's Kisses*, set to Musick by Mr Oswald. 1s. 6d. Engraved sheets only. B.M.
- „ - VIDA. *Vida's Art of Poetry*. Translated into English Verse by Mr [Christopher] Pitt. The Second Edition. 2s. 6d. [First ed. 1725.] Hughs, printer. B.M.

## 1743.

- Feb. 19. WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *An Essay on Ridicule*. 1s. B.M.
- Mar. 10. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint*. . . . Night the Fourth. 1s. 6d. With general title and preface. B.M.
- „ 26. [DALTON (JOHN).] *On Miss Forrester Playing with her Shadow*. 3s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- Apr. 2. BAKER (HENRY). *The Microscope Made Easy*. The Second Edition. 5s. B.M.
- May 5. WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *Ann Boleyn to Henry the Eighth*. An Epistle. 1s. B.M.
- Agreement as follows: 'April 28th, 1743. Mem.: It is this day agreed between Mr Dodsley and Mr Whitehead in relation to the publishing of a poem, entituled Anna Bullen to Henry 8th; that Mr Dodsley runs all risk in relation to the printing,

paper, publishing of the poem, and after the necessary Expences deducted of the printing, &c., Mr Whitehead and Mr Dodsley to share equally in the profit. T. Wright in behalf of Mr Whitehead.'

- May 14. *The History of Greece.* By Way of Question and Answer. . . . For the Use of Schools. B.M.
- June 16. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint.* 1st Four Nights. [The Second Edition.] 12mo. 3s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ - BLAINVILLE ( ). *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland and other Parts of Europe: but especially Italy.* Translated by George Turnbull and William Guthrie. Vol. I. [S.] B.M.
- „ - BLAINVILLE ( ). *Travels.* . . . Vol. II. [S.] B.M.
- Oct. 13. POPE (ALEXANDER). *Verses on the Grotto at Twickenham.* Attempted in Greek and Latin. To which is added Horti Popiani; Ode Sapphica. Also, The Cave of Pope. A Prophecy [by Robert Dodsley]. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- Nov. 3. PHILLIPS (KATHERINE). *The Crooked Sixpence.* With a Learned Preface. 1s. B.M.
- „ 15. DUCK (STEPHEN). *An Ode on the Battle of Dettingen.* 6d. B.M.
- „ 17. BAKER (HENRY). *An Attempt towards a Natural History of the Polype.* 4s. B.M.  
 Agreement B.M. Aug. 1743. Dodsley agrees to pay at the rate of two guineas a sheet, and for a future impression five guineas a sheet. Baker to receive six free copies of each edition.
- „ 26. DODSLEY (ROBERT). *Pain and Patience.* A Poem. 6d. Dated 1742, but the advertisements show this to be a misprint. B.M.
- Dec. 22. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint.* Night the Fifth. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ - [BROWN (JOHN).] *Honour.* A Poem. 1s. B.M.
- „ - *The Geography of England: done in the Manner of Gordon's Geographical Grammar.* 6d. Dated 1744. *Gent. Mag.*
- „ - *Mors Triumphans: Ode Lyrica Carmina Alcaico.* 6d. Dated 1744. Buckland. B.M.
- - POCOCKE (RICHARD). *A Description of the East, and some other Countries.* Volume the First. [S.] Bowyer, printer. Vol. 2, parts i. and ii., both have the date 1745 and the name of the printer, but no booksellers. B.M.
- - [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint.* The Sixth Edition. Includes first six nights. 1743 may be a misprint for 1746. Private collection.

1744.

- Jan. 16. [AKENSIDE (MARK).] *The Pleasures of Imagination.* A Poem. [S. Richardson, printer.] B.M.
- „ 29. TRUBLET (N. C. J.). *Essays upon Several Subjects of Literature and Morality.* Translated from the French. 5s. *Gen. Adv.*
- Feb. 13. [DODSLEY (ROBERT), editor.] *A Select Collection of Old Plays.* 12 vols. The first ten volumes were issued on this date, the last two following in March, 1745, although they bear the date 1744. B.M.
- „ — *An Account of the Glaciers or Ice Alps in Savoy.* 1s. 6d. [S.] B.M.
- Mar. 7. [WARTON (JOSEPH).] *The Enthusiast, or The Lover of Nature.* A Poem. 1s. B.M.
- „ 13. MILTON (JOHN). *Comus . . . as altered. . . .* The Seventh Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 30. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint.* Night the Sixth. 1s. 6d.
- This was the last Night published by Dodsley. The last three Nights were published by G. Hawkins. A Letter from Young to Dodsley, dated Jan. 3, 1744-5, deals with the question of purchase of a portion of the poem. Several agreements and receipts exist. Young's assignment of the copyright of the first five Nights to Mr Dodsley for 160 guineas is dated Nov. 24, 1743. The Sixth Night is assigned to him for the sum of 60 guineas in a deed dated Jan. 26, 1744-5.
- Apr. 17. *Clinador and Cecila*, a Novel. 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ „ CALLIMACHUS. *The Hymns of . . .* translated . . . by Mr [John] Alney. 3s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 26. WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *On Nobility: an Epistle to the Right Honourable the Earl of —.* 1s. B.M.
- Dodsley paid Whitehead 10 guineas for the sole right of the poem: receipt dated April 30, 1744.
- „ „ SALLUST. *Sallust's History of the Wars . . .* translated by Mr Henry Lee. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 29. [DYSON (JEREMIAH).] *An Epistle to Mr Warburton,* Occasioned by his Treatment of the Author of the *Pleasures of Imagination.* 6d. B.M.
- May 2. *Verses on the intended Hospital for Incurables at Dublin.* 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 8. GELLI (GIOVANNI BATTISTA). *Circe.* Being Ten Dialogues between Ulysses and his Men. Translated from the Italian. [By H. Layng.] Dated 1745. B.M.

- May 9. COLLINS (WILLIAM). *Epistle to Sir Thomas Hanmer*. The Second Edition. 1s. Gen. Adv.
- „ 20. [AKENSIDE (MARK).] *The Pleasures of Imagination*. The Second Edition. 2s. Gen. Adv.
- „ - *Adam's Luxury and Eve's Cookery, or the Kitchin Garden Display'd*. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- June. 22. *An Elegy on the Death of Mr Pope*. Gen. Adv.
- „ - *The Gentleman and Lady's Accomptant*. 3s. Gent. Mag.
- Aug. 10. BLAINVILLE ( ). *Travels*. . . . Vol. III. [S.] Dated 1745. B.M.
- Sept. 12. *The Reply to the Declaration which Count Dohna read to the Court of Vienna*. Gen. Adv.
- „ - *The Female Moralist*. A Poem. 1s. Robinson. B.M.
- Nov. 1. SWIFT (JONATHAN). *Three Sermons*. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ „ [MOLESWORTH (LORD).] *A Short Course of Standing Rules for the Government and Conduct of an Army*. By a Lieutenant General of His Majesty's Forces. 4s. B.M.
- „ 13. BARFORD (RICHARD). *A Poem on Knowls Hill in Essex*. 6d. Dated 1745. Private Collection.
- „ 15. [AKENSIDE (MARK).] *An Epistle to Curio*. 1s. B.M.
- „ - SWIFT (JONATHAN). *Three Sermons*. 1s. 6d., pp. 62 with a correction. A 4to edition with *The Difficulty of Knowing Oneself* (q.v. 1745), pp. 94, also issued this year. *Bibliography of Swift's Writings*, by W. Spence Jackson. London: Bell, 1908.
- - BAKER (HENRY). *The Microscope Made Easy*. The Third Edition. B.M.
- - [AKENSIDE (MARK).] *The Pleasures of Imagination*. [The Third Edition.] B.M. (This copy lacks the half-title with the note of the edition, but the General Catalogue affirms it to be the third edition.)
- - WERENFELS (SAMUEL). *The Usefulness of Dramatic Interludes in the Education of Youth*. Translated by Mr Duncombe. First advertisement. Jan. 31, 1745. B.M.

In a list of books issued by Dodsley, and inserted at the end of his *Trifles* (April, 1745), occur the following, of which copies have not been seen. (i) Neville (Hon. A.), *Plato Redivivus, or Dialogues concerning Government*. 3rd. ed. (ii) Grobianus, *or the Compleat Gentleman, an Ironical Poem in Three Books*. Lowndes mentions an edition issued in 1739, 8vo, 5s., as the work of F. Dedekindus, but gives the alternative title as '*or the Compleat Booby*.' (iii) *The Sailor's Companion, Shewing the Duty and Business of*

*all Superior and Inferior Officers in the Royal Navy.* 2s. 6d. (iv) *Leisure Hours Amusement, Being One Hundred and Fifty Stories . . . from the best English Authors.* (v) *Philomel, Being a Small Collection of only the best English Songs.* It is probable that some if not all of these bear only Cooper's name on the title-page, books so marked repeatedly occurring in Dodsley's list of publications.

Agreements signed before 1745 include one between Dodsley and Samuel Wilmot of Oxford for the copy-right of Joseph Spence's *Essay on Mr Pope's Odyssey* (first published in 1726), fifteen guineas being the price paid. Wilmot's receipt is dated Sept. 1, 1744. B.M. An edition of Spence's *Essay* was ultimately issued by Dodsley, and figures in one of his lists of publications for 1753, price bound in 12mo, 3s.

## 1745.

- Jan. 8. *The Art of Love.* 1s. Gen. Adv.  
 „ 21. *A Letter to a Young Member of the House of C—m—ns.* 6d. B.M.  
 „ 29. BROUGHTON (THOMAS). *A Historical Dictionary of Religions.* £1 1s. Gen. Adv.  
 Feb. 10. CAMPBELL (ROBERT). *The Life of the Duke of Argyle.* 5s. [S.] B.M.  
 „ 17. MORELL (T.). *Hope: a Poetical Essay on that Christian Grace.* 1s. B.M.  
 „ „ COCCHI (ANTONIO). *The Pythagorean Diet of Vegetables only conducive to the Preservation of Health and the Cure of Diseases.* 1s. 6d. B.M.  
 „ 26. DALTON (JOHN). *Two Epistles.* The First, to a Young Nobleman from his Preceptor. Written in the Year 1735-6. The Second, to the Right Honourable the Countess of Hartford at Percy Lodge, in the Year 1744. 1s. B.M.  
 „ 27. THOMPSON (WILLIAM). *Sickness. A Poem.* Book I. 1s. 6d. B.M.  
 Receipt as follows: 'Recd 8th of Febr 1744-5 of Mr Robt Dodsley the Sum of ten Guineas in full for the first payment for the first book of a Poem called *Sickness*, for the use of the Revd Mr Thompson recd by John Thomas.'  
 „ 28. CICERO (MARCUS TULLIUS). *The Orations of . . . for Marcus Marcellus, etc.* 1s. B.M.  
 Mar. 6. LE SAGE. *The Adventures of Robert Chevalier, call'd De Beauchene.* 2 vols. 6s. [S.] B.M.



- Mar. 17. *Five Pastoral Eclogues*, the Scenes of which are suppos'd to lie among the Shepherds oppress'd by the War in Germany. 1s. B.M.
- „ 21. HOOKE (ROBERT). *Micrographia Restaurata: or, the Copper-plates of Dr Hooke's wonderful Discoveries by the Microscope*, reprinted and fully explained [by Henry Baker]. 18s. [S.] B.M.
- „ 27. DALTON (JOHN). *Two Epistles*. . . . The Second Edition. 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 29. [AKENSIDE (MARK).] *Odes on Several Subjects*. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- Apr. 7. DODSLEY (ROBERT). *Trifles*. 5s. 'At Tully's Head in Pall Mall.' B.M.
- „ 12. THOMPSON (WILLIAM). *Sickness*. . . . Book II. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 24. [BROWN (JOHN).] *An Essay on Satire: Occasion'd by the Death of Mr Pope*. 1s. B.M.
- May 2. *Ode to Mr Handel*. 6d. B.M.
- „ 7. TOMLINSON (MATTHEW). *The Trinity*. A Poem. 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 9. SWIFT (JONATHAN). *Miscellanies*. The Tenth Volume. 3s. B.M.
- July 5. *An Ode to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Lonsdale*. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 7. SWIFT (JONATHAN). *The Difficulty of Knowing Oneself*. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 11. POPE (ALEXANDER). *Celeberrimi Popii Tentamen de Modis Criticis Scripta Dijudicandi*. Latine tentatum. Jac. Killpatrick. Robinson. Purser, printer. B.M.
- „ 18. *Reflections upon Church Government as a Religious Society*. 1s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- Oct. 14. *The Alarm*. A Poem. The Second Edition. 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 23. THOMAS (JOHN). *The Principles and Practice of a Popish Government, destructive of Civil and Religious Liberty*. A Sermon. 6d. B.M.
- „ 29. DOWNES (JOHN). *A Popish Prince the Pest of a Protestant People*. A Sermon. 6d. B.M.
- „ „ MADDEN (SAMUEL). *Boulter's Monument*. A Panegyric Poem to the Memory of Dr Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh. 3s. [S.] Samuel Richardson, printer. B.M.
- „ 31. SWIFT (JONATHAN). *Directions to Servants in General, and in Particular*. 1s. 6d. B.M.

- Nov. 10. CLANCY (MICHAEL). *Templum Veneris, sive Amorum Rhapsodiæ*. 1s. B.M.
- „ 12. [COOPER (JOHN GILBERT).] *The Power of Harmony. A Poem*. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ - CLERGYMAN. *A Religious Ode Occasioned by the Present Rebellion*. Written October 11, 1745. 6d. B.M.
- Dec. 3. MURRAY ( ). *A Complete and Particular History of the Remarkable Siege of Toulon in 1707*. 2s. Gen. Adv.
- „ 5. DALTON (JOHN). *Two Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, at St Mary's, on Sept. 15th, and Oct. 20th, 1745*. 1s. [S.] B.M.
- „ 12. RIDLEY (GLOUCESTER). *Jovi Eleutherio: or, an Offering to Liberty*. 1s. B.M.
- „ „ SERLE (J.). *A Plan of Mr Pope's Garden as it was left at his Death*. With a Plan and perspective View of the Grotto. 1s. 6d. Contains also Dodsley's *Cave of Pope*. B.M.
- „ 25. VIRGIL. *The Aeneid of . . . translated by Mr [Christopher] Pitt*. [The Second Edition.] 2 vols. 12mo. 5s. Gen. Adv.
- - THOMAS (JOHN), Bishop of Lincoln. *A Sermon Preached . . . in the Abbey Church of Westminster, on Wednesday, Jan. 30th, 1744*. The Second Edition. [S.] Oliver, printer. B.M. 1st advertisement, Feb. 5, 1746.
- - *Henry and Blanche: or, the Revengeful Marriage*. A Tale, taken from the French of Gil Blas. 2s. 1st advertisement on Feb. 13, 1746. B.M.
- - [AKENSIDE (MARK)]. *Odes on Several Subjects*. The Second Edition. 8vo. *Life of Akenside*. Dyce. Aldine Edition, p. xxvii.

1746.

- Jan. 15. TOMLINSON (MATTHEW). *The Protestant's Birth-right, or the Christian's Right of Judging for Himself in Matters of Religion*. A Sermon preached at Worksop in Nottinghamshire, June 1, 1743. 6d. B.M.
- Feb. 13. [COOKE (WILLIAM).] *A Hymn to Liberty*. 1s. Franklin, Cooper. B.M.
- „ „ *Henry the Seventh, or the Popish Impostor*. 1s. Gen. Adv.
- „ „ BAILLIE (JOHN). *The Married Coquet*. A Comedy. B.M.
- „ „ SWIFT (JONATHAN). *Directions to Servants*. The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. Gen. Adv.

- Feb. 14. THOMPSON (WILLIAM). *Sickness*. Book Three [and last]. 1s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 18. DOWNES (JOHN). *Sermon . . . at St Marylebone*, 13th Oct. 1745. The Third Edition. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- Mar. 6. BRECKNOCK (THOMAS). *Poems and Odes after the Manner of Anacreon*. 2s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 13. *An Epistle to William Pitt*. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 16. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint*. First Six Nights. 4s.
- The advertisement states that those who have brought the volume containing the first four Nights may have the fifth and sixth Nights separately. This apparently is the first edition of all six Nights which Dodsley issued. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 18. LANCASTER (NATHANIEL). *Public Virtue: or, the Love of our Country*, explained and recommended in a Sermon preached, March the 2nd, 1745. 1s. Cooper. B.M.
- „ 28. *The Spirit and Principles of Whigs and Jacobites Compared*. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 29. [AKENSIDE (MARK); editor.], *The Museum: or, the Literary and Historical Register*. 1st no. issued. 6d. For agreement between Dodsley and Akenside, see p. 82. B.M.
- „ 30. *An Hymn to God*. 1s. B.M.
- Apr. 10. SWIFT (JONATHAN). *Miscellanies*. The Eleventh Volume. 3s. Hitch, Davis, Cooper. B.M.
- „ 17. DALTON (JOHN). *The Religious Use of the Visitation of Sickness*, recommended in a Sermon. 6d. [S.] B.M.
- „ 22. *The Importance of Cape Breton Considered*. 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 28. THOMPSON (WILLIAM). *An Hymn to May*. B.M.
- „ 30. FREE ( ). *The Guardian, in Imitation of Horace*. Book IV. Ode V. Address'd to the Duke of Cumberland. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ - *Lettres de Monsieur . . . à un de ses Amis à Paris*, pour lui expliquer les Estampes de Monsieur Hogarth. 1s. [S.] B.M.
- June 17. WHATLEY (ROBERT). *The Christian*. A Sermon. 6d. [S.] B.M.
- Aug. 21. POPE (ALEXANDER). *Carmen*. Cl. Alexandri Pope In S. Cæcilium Latine Redditum Editio Altera. To which is added *Ode for Musick on Saint Cecilia's Day*. By Christopher Smart. [S.] Bentham, printer. B.M.

- Sept. 13. [AKENSIDE (MARK), *editor.*] *The Museum*. Vol. I. B.M.
- „ 27. WILLIAMS (SIR CHARLES HANBURY). *An Ode to the Right Honourable Stephen Poynitz, Esq.* 6d. B.M.
- Oct. 3. BROOKE (THOMAS). *The Pleasure and Advantage of Unity*. A Sermon preached September 2nd, 1746. 6d. [S.] Woodfall, printer. B.M.
- „ 15. BARR (JOHN). *A Sermon preach'd on the Ninth of October*. 6d. Wood, printer. B.M.
- Nov. 5. [WALPOLE (HORACE).] *The Epilogue to Tamerlane on the suppression of the rebellion*. 6d. B.M.
- „ 15. CHAPMAN (THOMAS). *The Winter Campaign*. A Poem. 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- Dec. 4. WARTON (JOSEPH). *Odes on Several Occasions*. 1s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 11. PLINIUS. *The Letters of Pliny the Consul; with Occasional Remarks* [by William Melmoth]. 2 vols. 8s. Dated 1747. B.M.
- „ 13. *An Enquiry into the Human Appetites and Affections*. 2s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 23. WEST (GILBERT). *Observations on the History and Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*. 5s. Dated 1747. B.M.
- - BEST (WILLIAM). *The Royal Soldier*. A Sermon. Millar, Rivington. B.M.
- - [AKENSIDE (MARK), *editor.*] *The Museum*. Vol. II. Not issued until the following year, but dated 1746. B.M.

## 1747.

- Jan. 8. VOLTAIRE (AROUET DE). *The Metaphysics of Sir Isaac Newton: or, a Comparison between the Opinions of Sir I. Newton and Mr Leibnitz*. Translated by David Erskine Baker. 1s. B.M.
- „ „ BROWN (JOHN). *The Mutual Connexion between Religious Truth and Civil Freedom; between Superstition, Tyranny, Irreligion and Licentiousness: considered in two Sermons preached in September 1746*. 1s. B.M.
- „ 9. WARTON (JOSEPH). *Odes on Several Occasions*. The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 17. *Lucy, a Pastoral*. Dedicated to the Right Honourable Earl of Chesterfield. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*

- Feb. 5. SPENCE (JOSEPH). *Polymetis: or, an Enquiry concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets and the Remains of the Ancient Artists.* £2 2s. 6d. B.M.
- „ „ SALMOND (D.). *The Chronological Historian.* The Third Edition. 2 vols. [S.] B.M.
- „ 28. [LYTTELTON (GEORGE, BARON LYTTELTON).] *A Discourse on Providence.* 1s. B.M.
- Mar. 18. *Thoughts occasioned by the Bill for the Militia.* 6d. Gen. Adv.
- Apr. 1. WEST (GILBERT). *Observations on the History . . . of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.* The Second Edition. With an Index. Gen. Adv.
- „ 8. *Reflections on Ancient and Modern History.* 1s. Gen. Adv.
- „ „ WARTON (THOMAS). *The Pleasures of Melancholy.* A Poem. 1s. B.M.
- „ „ BAILLIE (JOHN). *The Married Coquet.* 1s. 6d. Apparently a new edition. Gen. Adv.
- „ 17. [MASON (WILLIAM).] *Musæus: a Monody to the Memory of Mr Pope, in Imitation of Milton's Lycidas.* 1s. B.M.
- „ „ *The Pantheon.* A Vision. 1s. B.M.
- May 13. [LYTTELTON (GEORGE, BARON LYTTELTON).] *Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St Paul.* In a Letter to G. West, Esq. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ - [LYTTELTON (GEORGE, BARON LYTTELTON).] *Observations on the Conversion . . . of St Paul.* [The Second Edition.] B.M.
- „ 20. BAILLIE (JOHN). *An Essay on the Sublime.* B.M.
- „ 30. [GRAY (THOMAS).] *An Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College.* 6d. B.M.
- „ - *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth.* Gen. Adv.
- Apr. 27. PLINIUS. *The Letters of Pliny.* . . . The Second Edition. 2 vols. 8s. Gen. Adv.
- June. - WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *Honour.* A Poem. 1s. Gen. Mag.
- Sept. 15. [LYTTELTON (GEORGE, BARON LYTTELTON).] *Observations on the Conversion . . . of St Paul.* The Third Edition. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 22. DOUGLAS (ROBERT). *An Essay Concerning the Generation of Heat in Animals.* 2s. 6d. B.M.



- Oct. 3. FITZOSBORNE (Sir THOMAS), *i.e.* WILLIAM MELMOTH. *Letters on Various Subjects*. [Vol. I.] 3s. 6d. Dated 1748. B.M.  
 Receipt of Melmoth for thirty guineas for his right in the letters is dated Dec. 26, 1747.
- „ 6. [TOMKIS ( )]. *Albumazar*, a Comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. 1s. B.M.
- „ 8. [JOHNSON (SAMUEL)]. *Prologue and Epilogue*. Spoken at the Opening of the Theatre in Drury Lane. 1747. [S.] 6d. Cave, printer. B.M.
- „ 21. *The Soldier's Vade Mecum*. 3s. Gen. Adv.
- „ 25. DALTON (JOHN). *A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford at St Mary's on the fifth of November 1747*. [S.] B.M.
- - JOHNSON (SAMUEL). *The Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language*. Knapton, Longman, Shewell, Hitch, Millar. B.M.  
 Some copies on large paper. Grolier Club's Catalogue of the Johnson Bicentenary Exhibition mentions a copy in which Lord Chesterfield's name is absent from the title-page.
- - [YOUNG (EDWARD)]. *The Complaint*. The Seventh Edition. Contains the First Six Nights. B.M.
- - [AKENSIDE (MARK), editor]. *The Museum*. Vol. III. B.M.

1748.

- Jan. 15. [DODSLEY (ROBERT), editor]. *A Collection of Poems. By Several Hands*. In Three Volumes. 9s. B.M.
- „ 19. AKENSIDE (MARK). *An Ode to the Right Honourable the Earl of Huntingdon*. 1s. B.M.
- „ 21. SCOTT (THOMAS). *A Father's Instructions to his Son*. 1s. B.M.
- Feb. 9. AKENSIDE (MARK). *An Ode to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Huntingdon*. The Second Edition. 1s. Gen. Adv.
- „ „ [LYTTELTON (GEORGE, Baron LYTTELTON)]. *A Discourse on Providence*. The Second Edition. 1s. B.M.
- Apr. 3. MASON (WILLIAM). *Musæus: A Monody*. The Third Edition. B.M.

A second edition was probably issued at the end of 1747. A letter from Mason to Dodsley, dated 'Hull, Aug. 16, -47,' runs as follows: 'Sir,—I am told by the booksellers here that the Poem is sold off & that a second Edition is expected; I think if there had been any truth in the report I shou'd have heard from you concerning it, however, I write to

you at present to desire that if you shou'd have any such intentions at any time, you wou'd please to give me notice beforehand for there is an Alteration or two that I cou'd wish to make in it. I am come to a resolution of publishing the other Imitations w<sup>ch</sup> will make I believe an eighteen penny pamphlet, but I have not given them the last revisal yet, let me know whether the beginning or latter end of the Winter will be the best time. . . . You forgot in your last to let me know what I stood indebted to you & I don't remember exactly how many copies I orderd ; please to let me know in your answer to this, w<sup>ch</sup> I beg to have soon because I am going a journey into Derbyshire. Sir, Your very humble Ser:  
W. MASON. My Compliments to Mr Whithead.'

- Apr. 5. [LYTTELTON (GEORGE, Baron LYTTELTON).] *Observations on the Conversion . . . of St Paul.* The Fourth Edition. Dated 1749. B.M.
- „ 7. *The Preceptor: Containing a General Course of Education.* 2 vols. 12s. B.M.
- „ „ *A Letter to a Young Lady on Card Playing on the Lord's Day.* [S.] 1s. Gen. Adv.
- May 3. LANCASTER (NATHANIEL). *The Plan of an Essay upon Delicacy.* With a Specimen of the Work. In Two Dialogues. 2s. B.M. Reprinted in *Fugitive Pieces*, 1761.
- „ 12. *A Letter to Gilbert West, Esq., and to the Author of the Observations on St Paul's Conversion.* 1s. B.M.
- June 17. DUNCAN (WILLIAM). *The Elements of Logic.* 3s. Gen. Adv.
- „ 21. BRANCH (THOMAS). *A Treatise on Merit.* 2s. Gen. Adv.
- „ - SCHOMBERG (RALPH). *The Life of Mæcenas.* 1s. 6d. Gent. Mag.
- Oct. 19. MASSINGER (PHILIP). *A New Way to Pay Old Debts.* 1s. Gen. Adv.
- Nov. 9. PLINIUS. *The Letters of . . .* With Occasional Remarks. By William Melmoth. The Third Edition. 2 vols. B.M.
- „ 23. CERVANTES SAAVEDRA (MIGUEL). *The Life . . . of . . . Don Quixote. . . .* Translated . . . by Charles Jarvis. The Whole Carefully Revised and Corrected, with a New Translation of the Poetical Parts by Another Hand. The Second Edition. 2 vols. Tonson, Draper. B.M.
- „ 25. [FREDERICK II. (King of Prussia).] *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg.* 1s. B.M.

Nov. 31. *The New Memorandum Book.* 1s. and 1s. 6d.

This seems to be the first year in which Dodsley issued his well-known memorandum books for ladies and gentlemen. They appeared regularly every year, and sometimes reached a second edition. Sir Joshua Reynolds used them for his 'Notes.' Their scope may be seen from the following advertisement which Dodsley inserted in the *London Chronicle* for Nov. 22-24, 1757, after he had found his little books being copied on all sides:—

This Day are published, With elegant Frontispieces designed and engraved by Mr Boittard, neatly printed in a Pocket Size on a fine Writing Paper rul'd for Accounts, Appointments, and Memorandums, with Pockets for Keeping Bills and Letters, Price 1s. 6d., neatly bound.

*The Gentleman's New Memorandum Book improved : Or, The Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year 1758.* Containing, 1. The Dividends and Transfer Days at the Bank, India and South-Sea Houses. 2. The Holidays kept at all the Public Offices. 3. An Account where all the Public Offices are kept. 4. A Table of the Value of any Number of Portuguese Pieces, Louis d'Ors, and Pistoles, in English Pounds, Shillings and Pence. 5. Fifty-two Pages for the Receipts and Expences of every Week in the Year. 6. Divisions for every Day in the Year ; Useful to enter any future Appointment or Engagements, or to shew when any Notes or Payments will become due. 7. A Table that shews what any Salary, from 40,000 a Year to one Pound a Year, comes to for a Day. To which is added,

An Alphabetical List of the House of Peers, with their Town Residence, and the Titles of the Eldest Sons of the Dukes, Marquisses and Earls. And also a List of the Counties, Boroughs, &c., with the Members returned for the present Parliament, and their Places of Abode. Likewise an Account of the Great Roads of England and Wales, and of the principal Cross Roads ; with the Distances between each Town, in measured Miles and Furlongs. Disposed in a Method more useful and convenient for all Sorts of Business, than any of those who have pretended to imitate it ; and as it was the First, so it is now the Best Book of the Kind.

II. *The Ladies' New Memorandum Book.* Serving as a compleat Register of their Transactions, for the Year 1758, in a Size fit for the Pocket, Price 1s., neatly bound. Containing, Twenty-four Country Dances for the Year 1758. A Marketing Table. A Table shewing the Value of any Number of Portuguese Pieces. Fifty-two Pages, properly disposed

to enter regularly all Engagements, Expences, and Occasional Memorandums. A Table of Expence by the Day, Week, Month, and Year. Rules to be observed at Bath. Maxims for the Ladies concerning the Art of Pleasing. A New Essay on Female Oeconomy. Bills of Fare for every Month in the Year. Ready Messes for Supper. New Directions for playing at Piquet. Some general Things proper to be known and remembered. Holidays kept at the Public Offices.

- Nov. - DRAYTON (MICHAEL). *The Works of* . . . £1 5s.  
[S.] Hughs, printer. B.M.
- Dec. - [DODSLEY (ROBERT), editor.] *A Collection of Poems.*  
3 vols. The Second Edition. 9s. B.M.
- - FITZOSBORNE (Sir THOMAS), i.e. WILLIAM MELMOTH.  
*Letters on Several Subjects.* The Second Edition.  
[Vol. I.] B.M.
- - *Venus and Ardella: a Tale.* By a Gentleman of  
Oxford. B.M.
- - [LYTTELTON (GEORGE, Baron LYTTELTON).] *A Dis-*  
*course on Providence.* The Third Edition. B.M.
- - JOHNSON (SAMUEL). *A Plan of a Dictionary.* . . .  
8vo. Mentioned in the Grolier Club's Catalogue of  
the Johnson Bicentenary Exhibition (1909).

## 1749.

- Jan. 13. JOHNSON (SAMUEL). *The Vanity of Human Wishes.*  
The Tenth Satire of Juvenal Imitated. 1s. B.M.
- „ 29. CREBILLON (PROSPER JOLYOT DE). *Catalina.* A  
Tragedy. 1s. Gen. Adv.
- Feb. 2. HORACE. *The First Epode of the Second Book of Horace*  
*Imitated.* 1s. Gen. Adv.
- „ 6. *Letters on the French Nation.* By Two Sicilian Gentle-  
men. 1s.
- „ „ MASON (WILLIAM). *Isis.* An Elegy. 6d. B.M.
- „ „ *Satan's Harvest Home.* By a Lady of Distinction.  
[S.] Gen. Adv.
- „ 14. *An Essay on the Increase and Decline of Trade in London*  
*and the Out-ports.* 1s. B.M.
- „ 16. JOHNSON (SAMUEL). *Irene.* A Tragedy. 1s. 6d. B.M.  
The Grolier Club's Catalogue of Johnson Bicen-  
tenary Exhibition (1909) mentions another edition  
with altered half-title.
- „ 21. DODSLEY (ROBERT). *The Triumph of Peace.* A  
Masque. 6d. B.M.

- Feb. 23. MASON (WILLIAM). *Isis*. . . . The Second Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- Mar. 15. FITZOSBORNE (SIR THOMAS), *i.e.* WILLIAM MELMOTH. *Letters on Several Subjects*. Vol. II. 4s. B.M.  
 Agreement between Melmoth and Dodsley as follows:  
 'Decr 12th 1748, Recd of Mr Dodsley a Note of hand for one Hundred Pounds payable six Months after date, in consideration of which I do assign over to him his Heirs Executors Administrators & Assigns, all my Right & Property in the Copy of a Book entituled the second Volume of the Letters of Sir Thos Fitzosborne Bart. together with a Translation of Quintilian's Dialogue upon Eloquence. Wm MELMOTH.'
- „ 17. BROWN (JOHN). *An Essay on Satire*. . . . The Second Edition: Corrected and Enlarged by the Author. 1s. B.M.
- Apr. 11. BROOKE (HENRY). *The Songs in Jack the Giant Killer*. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 19. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint*. The Eighth Edition. 5s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ „ *The Cellar Book, or the Butler's Assistant*. 1s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- May 2. BARR (JOHN). *A Summary of Natural Religion*. 5s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 5. LE DRAN (HENRI FRANÇOIS). *The Operations in Surgery of* . . . By Thomas Gataker. With Mr Cheselden's remarks. *Gen. Adv.*  
 Gataker's Receipt for £63 paid him by Dodsley for his translation is dated May 13, 1748. Agreement between Dodsley and Cheselden dated May 1st, 1748, as follows:—  
 'Memorandum. It is this day propos'd by Mr Cheselden & Mr Dodsley as follows, viz.: Mr Dodsley is to give Mr Cheselden 200 Guineas for the Copy Plates & remaining Books of his Anatomy, provided there are 450 of ye said Books remaining. It is also agreed by Mr Dodsley to give Mr Cheselden 50 Guineas for his Notes on Le Dran's Operations of Surgery, to be printed with Mr Gataker's Translation of ye said Book, to which Mr Cheselden is to add a chaper (*sic*) on ye use of ye Bark in Surgery, & ye Parmacopeia Chirurgica promis'd at ye end of his Anatomy. And to direct ye Plates for Le Dran's Operations. 100 Guineas to be paid on ye Delivery of Plates & Books of Anatomy. The other 100 six months after, & ye 50 for Le Dran as soon as the Plates are engrav'd & ye copy printed.'
- May 9. *Jane Shore to the Duke of Gloucester*. An Epistle. 1s. B.M.



- May 11. THOMAS (JOHN). *A Sermon preached at the Parish Church of Blechingley, on Tuesday April 25th, 1749.* B.M.
- „ „ PINDAR. *The Odes of . . .* translated by Gilbert West, Esq. With a Dissertation on the Olympic Games. 3 vols. 15s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 19. *The World in Disguise; or, Masks All.* A Ballad sung at the Jubilee Hall. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 26. CICERO (MARCUS TULLIUS). *Epistolarum ad Familiares Libri XVI. Edidit et Commentario Anglico Illustravit Joannes Ross.* 2 vols. 12s. [S.] B.M.
- July 3. MASON (WILLIAM). *Ode Performed in the Senate House at Cambridge, July 1, 1749.* [S.] 6d. Bentham, printer. B.M.
- „ 11. DE HOLBERG (BARON). *Pensees Morales.* *Gen. Adv.*
- Aug. 16. WEST (GILBERT). *Observations on the History . . . of Jesus Christ.* The Fourth Edition. B.M.
- „ 25. *An Account of a Medical Controversy in the City of Cork,* in which five Physicians are engaged. To which are added, Two Letters from Dr Mead, and One from Dr Frewen, to the Different Persons Concerned. 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- Nov. 9. BELLERS (FETTIPLACE). *A Delineation of Universal Law.* 3s. B.M.
- „ 15. COOPER (JOHN GILBERT). *The Life of Socrates.* 3s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 21. [COOKE (WILLIAM).] *An Ode on Beauty,* to which are prefixed some Observations on Taste and on the present State of Poetry in England. 6d. Cooper. B.M.
- Dec. 8. FITZOSBORNE (SIR THOMAS), *i.e.* WILLIAM MELMOTH. *Letters on Several Subjects.* The Third Edition. Dated 1750. B.M.
- „ 11. *The Squire and the Parson: an Eclogue.* 6d. B.M.
- – *Leisure Hours Amusement.* The Second Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- – HERODIAN. *History of his own Times.* Translated into English . . . by J. Hart. [S.] B.M.

## 1750.

- Jan. 5. COOPER (JOHN GILBERT). *The Life of Socrates.* The Second Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 28. *The Universal Regulator of Work and Workmen.* 1s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*

- Jan. 30. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint*. . . . A New Edition. 12mo. *Gen. Adv.*
- Feb. 9. *Penshurst. Inscribed to William Perry, Esq., and the Honourable Mrs Perry.* 1s. B.M.
- „ 11. *The Present State of Europe.* 6s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 21. GALLY (HENRY). *Some Considerations upon Clandestine Marriages.* 1s. 6d. [S.] Hughes, printer. B.M.
- „ 27. VIRGIL. *The Georgics of Virgil.* Attempted in English Verse. [The First Georgic.] 1s. 6d. B.M.
- Mar. 5. WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *The Roman Father.* A Tragedy. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 13. WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *The Roman Father.* . . . The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 15. HAMPTON (JAMES). *A Plain and Easy Account of the Fall of Man.* 6d. B.M.
- „ „ *A New Collection of Fairy Tales.* 2 vols. 5s. Davis, Hitch, Bowyer, Woodfall. Private Collection.
- „ 16. *An Essay on the Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade.* The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 23. *A Letter to Mr Whiston occasion'd by his Publication of his life.* *Gen. Adv.*
- „ „ TOMLINSON (MATTHEW). *The Trinity.* A Poem. The Second Edition, Corrected and very much enlarged. 1s. B.M.
- „ - CHAPMAN (THOMAS). *An Essay on the Roman Senate.* [S.] Benthams, printer. *Gent. Mag.*
- Apr. 12. WREN (STEPHEN). *Parentalia: or Memoirs of the Family of Wrens.* £1 5s. Osborn. B.M.
- „ 23. CIBBER (COLLEY). *An Apology for the Life of . . .* The Third Edition. 2 vols. 6s. *Gen. Adv.*  
Receipt of Cibber for £52 10s. for the copyright of his *Apology* is dated Mar. 24, 1749-50.
- „ 27. SMART (CHRISTOPHER). *On the Eternity of the Supreme Being.* A Poetical Essay. 6d. [S.] Benthams, printer. B.M.
- July 15. *A Treatise on Electricity.* 5s. *Gen. Adv.*
- Sept. - COOKE (WILLIAM). *The Sense of St Peter, as to the more sure word of Prophecy, considered and explained.* A Sermon preached at the Visitation held at Beaconsfield, May 25, 1750. 6d. Bathurst. B.M.
- Nov. 1. COOPER (JOHN GILBERT). *The Life of Socrates.* The Third Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 6. PARKER (WILLIAM). *Two Discourses on the Mosaic History of the Fall.* 1s. *Gen. Adv.*
- Dec. 3. S. (R.). *The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins.* 2 vols. 6s. Robinson. B.M. (Vol. I. only.)

- Dec. 4. RALEIGH (SIR WALTER). *The Works of . . . political, commercial, and philosophical.* 2 vols. Edited by Thomas Birch. Dated 1751. B.M.
- „ 20. [DODSLEY (ROBERT).] *The Oeconomy of Human Life.* The Second Edition. 1s. B.M.
- „ 27. DALTON (JOHN). *A Sermon . . . at Oxford . . .* Nov. 1747. The Second Edition.
- - [JOHNSON (SAMUEL).] *London.* A Poem. The Fifth Edition. Cave, printer. B.M.

1751.

- Jan. 14. GALLY (HENRY). *Considerations on Marriage.* The Second Edition. 2s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 15. WREN (SIR CHRISTOPHER). *The Life and Works of . . .* edited by his son. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 22. WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *An Hymn to the Nymph of Bristol Spring.* 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 26. [CAMBRIDGE (RICHARD OWEN).] *The Scribleriad.* An Heroic Poem. Book I. B.M.
- Feb. 3. [JENYNS (SOAME).] *The Modern Fine Lady.* 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 14. [COTTON (NATHANIEL).] *Visions in Verse.* For the Entertainment and Instruction of Younger Minds. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 15. [GRAY (THOMAS).] *An Elegy Wrote in a Country Church-yard.* B.M.
- „ 16. [JENYNS (SOAME).] *The Modern Fine Lady.* The Second Edition. 6d. B.M.
- „ 21. [CAMBRIDGE (RICHARD OWEN).] *The Scribleriad.* Book II. 1s. B.M.
- Mar. 4. [CAMBRIDGE (RICHARD OWEN).] *The Scribleriad.* Book III. 1s. B.M.
- „ 5. *Memoirs of the Duke of Sully.* 2 vols. 5s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 14. *Lettres D'Aza ou d'un Peruvien, Conclusives des Lettres Peruvien.* Nouvelle Edition. 1s. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ „ CORNWALLIS (FREDERICK), Bishop of Lichfield. *A Sermon preached . . . in the Abbey Church, Westminster, on Wednesday, January 30, 1750-51.* 6d. B.M.
- „ - [GRAY (THOMAS).] *An Elegy written in a Country Churchyard.* The Second Edition.
- „ 14. GRAY (THOMAS). *An Elegy written in a Country Church-yard.* The Third Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 15. *National Thoughts Recommended to the Serious Attention of the Public . . .* by a Landowner. 6d. B.M.

- Mar. 19. [CAMBRIDGE (RICHARD OWEN).] *The Scribleriad.*  
Book IV. 1s. B.M.
- „ „ SMEDHURST (GAMALIEL). *Tables of Time.* 5s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 24. *National Thoughts.* . . . The Second Edition. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 26. [CAMBRIDGE (RICHARD OWEN).] *The Scribleriad.*  
Book V. 1s. B.M.
- „ 28. WEST (GILBERT). *Education.* A Poem. Canto the  
First. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 29. *A Rhapsody of Free Thoughts.* 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ — ARNOLD (CORNELIUS). *Commerce.* A Poem. 1s.  
*Gent. Mag.*
- Apr. 7. [GRAY (THOMAS).] *An Elegy Written in a Country*  
*Churchyard.* The Fourth Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ „ [JENYNS (SOAME).] *The Modern Fine Lady.* The Third  
Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 8. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint.* Complete poem  
issued jointly with Millar, who seems to have purchased  
the copyright of the three last *Nights* from Hawkins.  
B.M.
- „ 21. DELAP (JOHN). *Marcellus.* A Monody. Humbly  
inscribed to Her Royal Highness the Princess of  
Wales. 6d. B.M.
- „ 24. CORNWALLIS (FREDERICK), Bishop of Lichfield. *A*  
*Sermon preached . . . on . . . Jan. 30.* The Second  
Edition. 6d. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ „ [CAMBRIDGE (RICHARD OWEN).] *The Scribleriad.*  
Book VI. B.M.
- „ „ [CAMBRIDGE (RICHARD OWEN).] *The Scribleriad.* An  
Heroic Poem. In Six Books. [Being a General  
Title and Preface signed by Cambridge, together with  
an Index.] 6s. B.M.
- May 7. [BOLTON (B.).] *The Deity's Delay in Punishing the*  
*Guilty Considered.* 1s. Whiston, White. B.M.
- „ 14. [COTTON (NATHANIEL).] *Visions in Verse.* . . . The  
Second Edition. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 15. [DODSLEY (ROBERT).] *The Oeconomy of Human Life*  
. . . translated into French by M. de la Douespe.  
*Gen. Adv.*
- „ 24. FIELDING (HENRY). *The History of Amelia.* 15s.  
*Gen. Adv.*
- „ — [DODSLEY (ROBERT).] *The Oeconomy of Human Life.*  
The Third Edition. 2s. B.M.

- - [DODSLEY (ROBERT).] *The Oeconomy of Human Life.*  
The Fifth Edition. 1s. B.M.
- June 7. [DODSLEY (ROBERT).] *The Oeconomy of Human Life.*  
The Seventh Edition. Gen. Adv.
- „ 16. SKYNNER (JOHN). *A Sermon preached at the Funeral*  
*of Baptist, Earl of Gainsborough, April 18, 1751.* 6d.  
B.M.
- July 8. WARTON (THOMAS). *Ode for Music as performed at the*  
*Theatre in Oxford on the Second of July 1751.*  
Clements, Barrett, Thurlbourn. B.M.
- „ 17. SKYNNER (JOHN). *A Sermon . . . at the Funeral of*  
*Baptist, Earl of Gainsborough. . . .* The Third Edition.  
Gen. Adv.
- Nov. 4. JONSON (BEN), CHAPMAN (THOMAS), and MARSTON  
(JOHN). *Eastward Hoe, or the Prentices.* A Comedy  
. . . with a new occasional Prologue, spoken  
by Mr Woodward upon the present revival. . . .  
1s. Gen. Adv.
- Dec. 12. CAMBRIDGE (RICHARD OWEN). *The Scribleriad.* The  
Second Edition. 12mo. 2s. Gen. Adv.
- „ 28. [COTTON (NATHANIEL).] *Visions in Verse. . . .* The  
Third Edition. Gen. Adv.
- „ - ADAMS (WILLIAM). *An Essay on Mr Hume's Essay on*  
*Miracles.* 2s. [S.] Say, printer. Dated 1752. B.M.
- - ARNOLD (CORNELIUS). *Commerce. . . .* The Second  
Edition. Cooper, Swan, Barret. D. Browne, printer.  
B.M.
- - HOWARD (L.). *The Sin and Ill Consequence of Speaking*  
*Evil of Dignities.* A Sermon. Hodges. B.M.
- - HORACE. *Epistola ad Augustum.* With an English  
Commentary and Notes. [S.] B.M.

1752.

- Jan. 29. [DODSLEY (ROBERT), editor.] *A Collection of Poems.*  
The Third Edition. 1st three vols. Gen. Adv.
- Feb. 12. JONES (MARY). *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse.*  
Gen. Adv.
- „ 18. GELLERT (C. F.). *The History of the Swedish Countess*  
*of G ——. 3s. Gen. Adv.*
- „ 23. BEAUMONT (SIR HARRY), i.e. JOSEPH SPENCE. *Crito,*  
*or a Dialogue on Beauty.* 1s. B.M.
- „ 27. *An Epistle to the Honourable Arthur Dobbs, Esq., in*  
*Europe.* From a Clergyman in America. [S.] B.M.
- Mar. 10. *The Present State of Europe. . . .* The Third Edition.  
6s. Gen. Adv.



- Mar. 10. *Aedes Walpoleanæ: or, a Description of the Collection of Pictures at Houghton Hall in Norfolk, the Seat of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Oxford. The Second Edition.* 6s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 17. CIBBER (MRS SUSANNA MARIA). *The Oracle.* A Comedy. 1s. B.M.  
 Receipt to Mr Dodsley for £31 10s. for his property in the copyright of the Oracle, and £18 18s. for the expense of paper and printing, dated April 1st, 1752.
- „ „ *Poems by . . .* 3s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 24. CAMBRIDGE (RICHARD OWEN). *A Dialogue Between a Member of Parliament and his Servant.* In Imitation of the Seventh Satire of the Second Book of Horace. 1s. B.M.
- „ - CRADOCK (JOHN). *A Sermon preached . . . at St Margaret's, Westminster, on Thursday, Jan. 30, 1752.* [S.] B.M.
- Apr. 11. VOLTAIRE (AROUET DE). *Le Siecle de Louis XIV.* 2 vols. 6s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 17. FORDYCE (DAVID). *Theodorus; or Dialogues on the Art of Preaching.* 3s. *Gen. Adv.*  
 Receipt of William Fordyce for £26 5s. from Mr Dodsley, to whom he assigns his right in his brother's book, dated March 12, 1752.
- „ 28. PINEAU DU CLOS (C.). *Memoirs Illustrating the Manners of the Present Age.* 6s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 30. VOLTAIRE (AROUET DE). *Le Siecle de Louis XIV.* 2nd. ed. 2 vols. 7s. *Gen. Adv.*
- June 11. VOLTAIRE (AROUET DE). *Le Siecle de Louis XIV.* 4to. 16s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 18. SKYNNER (JOHN). *Sermon . . . at the Funeral of Baptist, Earl of Gainsborough.* The Fifth Edition. B.M.
- „ 21. VOLTAIRE (AROUET DE). *Le Siecle de Louis XIV.* 3rd ed. 2 vols. 7s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ - CHAPPELOW (LEONARD). *A Commentary on the Book of Job.* 2 vols. *Gent. Mag.*
- July 12. VOLTAIRE (AROUET DE). *The Age of Lewis the Fourteenth.* Translated from the French. 2 vols. 8vo. 10s. *Gen. Adv.*
- „ 30. PETIT (PETER). *The Hebrew Guide: or, an English-Hebrew Grammar with Points.* 2s. 6d. Nourse, Whiston, White, Ward, Payne, Cave, printer. B.M.
- Aug. 14. DUNCAN (WILLIAM). *The Elements of Logick.* The Third Edition. 3s. B.M.
- Oct. 31. VOLTAIRE (AROUET DE). *The Age of Lewis the Fourteenth.* The Second Edition. *Gen. Adv.*

- Oct. 31. BEAUMONT (SIR HARRY), *i.e.* JOSEPH SPENCE. *Crito*. . . . The Second Edition. 1s. Gen. Adv.
- Nov. 14. HALL (JOSEPH). *Virgidemiarum*, a Satire. 2s. Gen. Adv.
- „ 15. COLDEN (CALWALLADER). *The Principles of Action in Matter, The Gravitation of Bodies, and the Motions of the Planets Explained*. 5s. B.M.
- Dec. 3. ROERGAS DE SERVIEZ ( ). *The Roman Empresses : or the History of the Wives of the Twelve Cæsars*. Translated from the French by Bysshe Molesworth. 9s. B.M.
- „ 4. ATTIRET (JEAN DENIS). *A Particular Account of the Emperor of China's Gardens near Pekin*. Translated by Sir Harry Beaumont [pseud. *i.e.* Joseph Spence]. B.M.
- „ 6. SMART (CHRISTOPHER). *On the Omniscience of the Supreme Being*. A Poetical Essay. 6d. [S.] Bentham, printer. B.M.
- „ - PARRY (RICHARD). *The Christian Sabbath as Old as the Creation*. A Sermon. 1s. [S.] D. Browne, printer. Dated 1753. B.M.
- „ - CHALONS (C.). *The History of France*. Translated from the French. 2 vols. 10s. B.M.
- „ - SMART (CHRISTOPHER). *Ode on the Omniscience of the Supreme Being*. The Second Edition. Pub. Adv.
- - DOUGLAS (GAWIN), Bishop of Dunkeld. *A Description of May*. From Gavin Douglas. . . . By Francis Fawkes. Whiston, White, Millar. B.M.

The following receipt in the writer's possession relates to a transaction of this year. 'Received 5th April 1752 of Mr Robert Dodsley three pounds three Shillings for the Copy Right of printing the under mentioned Plays, viz., Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, a tragedy by Ambrose Philips, two thirds, Briton, a tragedy by Ambrose Philips, two thirds, and Double Deceit by Mr Popple, a half which said Shares was the Property of the late Mr Thomas Woodward Deceased and Mr John Peele, and were sold at a Sale of Books and Copies made the 12th day of March last at the Queens head Tavern in Pater Noster Row, I say received for the Use of Mrs Alice Grove of Andover in the County of Southampton, Widow Administratrix of the above mentioned Thomas Woodward; and Mr John Peele, Jno. Atkinson, £3 3s. od.' Whether Dodsley reprinted the plays he thus purchased does not appear.

1753.

- Jan. 4. FITZADAM (ADAM), *i.e.* EDWARD MOORE. *The World*. No. 1. 2d. Issued weekly. Fo.

Jan. 25. VIRGIL. The *Works* of Virgil, in Latin and English. The Original Text correctly printed from the most Authentic Editions. . . . The Aeneid, translated by the Rev. Mr Christopher Pitt, the Eclogues and Georgics, with Notes on the Whole, by the Rev. Mr Joseph Warton. With several new Observations by Mr Holdsworth, Mr Spence, and Others. Also a Dissertation on the Sixth Book of the Aeneid, by Mr Warburton. On the Shield of Aeneas, by Mr W. Whitehead. On the Character of Japis, by the late Dr Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester. And, Three Essays on Pastoral, Didactic, and Epic Poetry, by the Editor [Joseph Warton]. 4 vols. 2os. B.M.

Agreement as follows: 'Memorandum: That it is this day, March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1749-50, agreed between the Rev. Mr Joseph Warton of Winslade near Basingstoke in Hampshire, Clerk; and Mr Robert Dodsley of y<sup>e</sup> City of Westminster, Bookseller, as follows: viz. The s<sup>d</sup> Mr Warton agrees to translate into English Verse, with his best Skill & Abilities, the Eclogues & Georgicks of Virgil, and to write Critical & Explanatory Notes upon Them and the Aeneid, with Occasional Dissertations such as he shall judge most useful & conducive towards rendering y<sup>e</sup> Author fully understood; together with a Life of y<sup>e</sup> Author & an Index to his whole Works upon y<sup>e</sup> Plan of Mr Pope's Index to Homer; & also to correct from y<sup>e</sup> Press y<sup>e</sup> whole Translation, Notes & Latin Text of y<sup>e</sup> Author. The s<sup>d</sup> Mr Warton doth also covenant & agree to make & deliver y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Work in all its Parts, (except y<sup>e</sup> Index which is to be compiled while y<sup>e</sup> Work is printing) ready for y<sup>e</sup> Press in fifteen Months from the Date hereof. In consideration of which y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid Mr Dodsley doth covenant and agree to pay to the s<sup>d</sup> Mr Warton the Sum of two hundred Pounds, to be paid in manner following, viz.: one hundred Pounds as soon as the whole Work (except the Index) is compleated & ready for the Press; & y<sup>e</sup> other hundred as soon as y<sup>e</sup> whole is finish'd & corrected from the Press. The s<sup>d</sup> Mr Dodsley doth also agree to furnish such Books as are necessary to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Mr Warton in carrying on y<sup>e</sup> Work: And also to give to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Mr Warton twelve Copies of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Work when it is finish'd. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our Hands & Seals the Day & Date first above written.

Joseph Warton.  
RDodsley.

. . . in the Presence of James Dodsley,  
William Randall.'

Also receipt of Warton's for £221, dated Nov. 15, 1752.

- Feb. 1. BAKER (HENRY). *Employment for the Microscope*. 6s. B.M.  
 Receipt as follows: 'Janry. 26<sup>th</sup> 1753. Recd. of Mr Dodsley eighty eight Pounds eleven Shill<sup>s</sup> and sixpence in full as per Agreem<sup>t</sup> for the Copy of Employment for the Microscope, &c. HBaker.'
- „ 8. *A Review of the Manufacturers' Complaints against the Wool Growers*. Part I. 1s. Also Parts II. and III., dated 1753. 1s. each. B.M.
- „ 9. FORDYCE (DAVID). *Theodorus*. . . . The Second Edition. 3s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 16. KENNICOTT (BENJAMIN). *The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament Considered*. 6s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 18. HANWAY (JONAS). *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea*. 4 vols. [S.] B.M.
- „ 23. JONES (MARY). *Poems*. 5s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 26. CÆSAR (CAIUS JULIUS). *The Commentaries of* . . . translated into English. To which is prefixed a Discourse concerning the Roman Art of War. By William Duncan. Tonson, Draper. B.M.  
 There is an agreement, dated Oct. 1744, in the British Museum between Dodsley and Duncan concerning a translation of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, but it would seem that this had been cancelled after the other publishers had come into the undertaking.
- „ 27. JONES (HENRY). *The Earl of Essex*. A Tragedy. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ - VIDA. *Vida's Silk-Worm*, with a Translation by Samuel Pullein. *Gent. Mag.*
- „ - MOORE (EDWARD). *The Gamester*. A Tragedy. 1s. 6d. [S.] B.M.
- Mar. 5. [COVENTRY (FRANCIS).] *The History of Pompey the Little, or the Life and Adventures of a Lap Dog*. 3s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 7. LOWTH (ROBERT). *De Sacra Poesi Hebraiorum*. Pub. Adv.
- „ 12. YOUNG (EDWARD). *The Brothers*. A Tragedy. 1s. 6d. B.M. The Prologue written by Dodsley.
- „ 15. WEST (GILBERT). *Odes of Pindar*. . . . The Second Edition. 2 vols. 6s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 16. *Vision*, a Divine Poem. Pub. Adv.
- „ 18. *A Brief Account of the Vaudois, His Sardinian Majesty's Protestant Subjects in Piedmont*. 6d. B.M.
- „ 22. CLIVE (CATHARINE). *The Rehearsal: or Bays in Petticoats*. A Comedy. 1s. B.M.  
 Authoress's receipt dated Mar. 24, 1753.

- Mar. 29. GRAY (THOMAS). *Designs by Mr Bentley for Six Poems by Mr T. Gray.* 10s. 6d. B.M.
- Apr. 1. DYER (RICHARD). *The Carnation.* To the Honourable Miss Grace Pelham. A Poem upon her Marriage to the Honourable Lewis Watson. [S.] B.M.
- „ 5. BEAUMONT (SIR HARRY), i.e. JOSEPH SPENCE. *Moralities: or, Essays, Letters, Fables and Translations.* Pub. Adv.
- „ 9. HAY (WILLIAM). *Religio Philosophi: or, the Principles of Morality and Christianity.* B.M.
- „ 11. PARISOT (PETER). *An Account of the new Manufactory for Tapestry and Carpets at Fulham.* 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 12. *Contemplation.* 1s. B.M.
- „ „ *Some Late Opinions Concerning the Foundations of Morality.* 1s. B.M.
- „ 17. CICERO (MARCUS TULLIUS). *Letters to several of his Friends.* With Remarks by William Melmoth. In Three Volumes. 15s. B.M.
- Agreement as follows: 'Nov. 29<sup>th</sup> 1752. Memorandum it is hereby agreed between William Melmoth, Esq., & Mr Robert Dodsley that the said Robert Dodsley shall give to the said W<sup>m</sup> Melmoth the sum of six hundred pounds for the copy of a book intituled the Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero to several of his friends translated by the said W<sup>m</sup> Melmoth with remarks, w<sup>ch</sup> said six hundred pounds is hereby agreed to be paid in manner following, that is to say, the said Robert Dodsley hereby agrees to pay, & already has paid at the time of signing this agreement, the sum of one hundred pounds; one hundred pounds more on y<sup>e</sup> day of publishing the said Letters, the remaining four hundred pounds twelve months after y<sup>e</sup> day of publication, upon the receipt of which last four hundred pounds the said W<sup>m</sup> Melmoth doth hereby agree to assign all his right & property in the aforesaid book to the said Robert Dodsley his Executors administrators, & assigns: witness our hands the day & year above written.
- W<sup>m</sup> Melmoth.  
RDodsley.
- Rec<sup>d</sup> at y<sup>e</sup> same time of Mr Dodsley the sum of one hundred pounds according to y<sup>e</sup> above agreement.
- W<sup>m</sup> Melmoth.'
- Unlike most of the agreements which were drawn out by Dodsley, this is entirely in Melmoth's autograph. Final receipt for £600 is dated April 30<sup>th</sup>, 1755.
- May 2. JONES (HENRY). *Merit: a Poem.* 1s. B.M.
- „ „ *An Essay on the Action Proper for the Pulpit.* 1s. 6d. Pub. Adv.



- May 10. An Answer to the Appendix of a Pamphlet entitled  
*Reflections upon Naturalization, Co-operations . . .*  
*relating to the Levant Trade.* Pub. Adv.
- „ 20. FRANCKLIN (THOMAS). *Translation.* A Poem. 1s.  
[S.] B.M.
- „ „ VOLTAIRE (AROUET DE). *Verses to the King of Prussia.*  
6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 29. *Dissertation on the Nature and intention of Homer's*  
*Fables of the Gods.* 1s. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ „ DE BETHUNE (MAXIMILIEN, DUC DE SULLY). *The*  
*Memoirs of . . . during his Residence at the English*  
*Court.* 2 vols. 5s. Pub. Adv.
- June 30. NELSON (JAMES). *An Essay on the Government of*  
*Children.* 5s. Pub. Adv.
- July 25. *Seasonable Remarks on the Act lately pass'd in Favour*  
*of the Jews: containing Divers Weighty Reasons for*  
*a Review of the said Act.* 6d. B.M.
- Aug. 31. FITZOSBORNE (SIR THOMAS), *i.e.*, WILLIAM MELMOTH.  
*Letters on Several Subjects.* The Fourth Edition.  
5s. Pub. Adv.
- Oct. 16. VOLTAIRE (AROUET DE). *The Age of Lewis XIV.* The  
Third Edition. 2 vols. 6s. B.M.
- Nov. 9. HANWAY (JONAS). *An Historical Account of the*  
*British Trade over the Caspian Sea.* The Second  
Edition. 2 vols. B.M.
- „ 14. WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *Poems on Several Occasions,*  
*with the Roman Father.* 3s. Dated 1754. B.M.
- „ 16. [COTTON (NATHANIEL).] *Visions in Verse. . . .* The  
Fourth Edition. 1s. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 19. DODSLEY (ROBERT). *Public Virtue: a Poem.* Book I.  
2s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 22. H[ANWAY] (J[ONAS]). *A Review of the Proposed*  
*Naturalization of the Jews.* The Third Edition,  
Corrected and Enlarged. [S.] B.M.
- „ 26. HORACE. *Horace's Art of Poetry,* translated into  
English Verse by William Pople. 2s. 6d. Pub.  
Adv.
- Dec. 5. *A Modest Defence of Gaming.* 1s. B.M. Reprinted in  
*Fugitive Pieces, 1761.*
- „ 6. [DUNCOMBE (JOHN).] *An Evening Contemplation in a*  
*College.* Being a Parody on the Elegy in a Country  
Churchyard. By Another Gentleman of Cambridge.  
6d. B.M.
- „ 7. *A Letter to a Lady Concerning some Important and*  
*Necessary Truths in Religion.* 1s. Pub. Adv.

- Dec. 8. GLOVER (RICHARD). *Boadicia*. A Tragedy. 1s. 6d. Cooper. B.M.
- „ 11. *Some few Reflections on the Tragedy of Boadicia*. 4d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 13. HAY (WILLIAM). *Deformity*: An Essay. 1s. 6d. Dated 1754. B.M.
- „ 19. CHARLETON (RICE). *A Treatise on the Bath Waters*. 1s. 6d. [S.] Dated 1754. B.M.
- 5 „ AESOP. *Fables*. A new Edition. 2s. 6d. [S.] Pub. Adv.
- „ - GLOVER (RICHARD). *Boadicia*. . . . The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- - *The Preceptor*. The Second Edition, with Additions, and Improved. 2 vols. Dated 1754. B.M.
- - [GRAY (THOMAS).] *An Elegy written originally in a country Church Yard*. The Eighth Edition, Corrected by the Author. 6d. B.M.
- - H[ANWA]Y (J[ONAS]). *Letters Admonitory and Argumentative* . . . in Reply to Particular Passages, and the General Argument, of a Pamphlet entitled, *Further Considerations of the Bill*, etc. [S.] B.M.
- - HOWARD (L.). *The Good Government of a Country its great Object*. A Sermon. [S.] (J. Dodsley only.) E. Owen, printer. B.M.
- - COVENTRY (FRANCIS). *The History of Pompey the Little*. . . . The Third Edition. Dodsley's list at the end of his *Public Virtue*.
- - YOUNG (EDWARD). *The Poetical Works of* . . . Dodsley's list at the end of his *Public Virtue*.
- - *An Essay on the Employment of Time*. 2s. Dodsley's list at the end of his *Public Virtue*.

An existing agreement between Dodsley and Thomas Warton, dated Jan. 21, 1752, concerning a proposed translation of Apollonius Rhodius was not carried out.

1754.

- Jan. 6. HAY (WILLIAM). *Deformity*. . . . The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 16. [CAMBRIDGE (RICHARD OWEN).] *The Fable of Gotham* . . . to the *Borough Hunters*. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 24. *Agreeable Ugliness, or, the Triumph of the Graces*, exemplified in the real Life and Fortunes of a young Lady of some Distinction. 3s. B.M.
- „ 25. [COOKE (WILLIAM).] *An Ode on Poetry, Painting, and Sculpture*. 6d. B.M.

- Feb. 1. MORGAN (M'NAMARA). *Philoclea*. A Tragedy. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 6. CAMBRIDGE (RICHARD OWEN). *The Intruder*, in Imitation of Horace, Book I., Satire IX. 1s. B.M.
- Mar. 2. [FIELDING (SARAH) and COLLIER (JANE).] *The Cry*. A New Dramatic Fable. 3 vols. 9s. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 3. BROWNE (ISAAC HAWKINS). *The Immortality of the Soul*. A Poem. Translated from the Latin by William Hay. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 7. ADAMS (WILLIAM). *An Essay in Answer to Mr Hume's Essay on Miracles*. The Second Edition. [S.] E. Say, printer. B.M.
- „ 8. GATAKER (THOMAS). *Observations on Venereal Complaints, and the Methods recommended for their Cure*. 1s. B.M.
- „ 14. [RICHARDSON (SAMUEL).] *Clarissa*. [S.] *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 19. WEEKES (NATHANIEL). *The Choice of a Husband*. An Epistle to a Young Lady. B.M.
- „ „ RICHARDSON (SAMUEL). *Clarissa*. The Second Edition. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ „ COOKE (WILLIAM). *An Ode on Pleasure*. 6d. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 22. PETRARCH (FRANCESCO). *The Triumph of Death*. A Poem. In Memory of the Rt. Hon. Henry Pelham. Imitated from Petrarch. B.M.
- „ 24. SWIFT (JONATHAN). *Brotherly Love*. A Sermon preached in St Patrick's Church, on December 1st, 1717. 6d. B.M.
- „ 26. AKENSIDE (MARK). *The Pleasures of Imagination*. A Poem. [The Fifth Edition.] 2s. B.M.
- „ 27. LE DRAN (HENRI FRANÇOIS). *The Operations in Surgery of . . .* By Thomas Gataker. The Second Edition. 6s. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 28. RICHARDSON (SAMUEL). *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*. 7 vols. [S.] Samuel Richardson, printer. B.M.
- „ - WARTON (THOMAS). *Observations on the Fairie Queene of Spenser*. 4s. Fletcher. B.M.
- Apr. 4. ADAMS (WILLIAM). *The Nature and Obligation of Virtue*. A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of St Chad, Salop. 1s. [S.] E. Say, printer. B.M.
- „ 15. *A Candid Examination of Sir Charles Grandison*. 1s. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 18. GAY (JOHN). *The Rehearsal at Goatham*. 1s. [S.] B.M.

- Apr. 19. B. (J.). *The Dignity of Human Nature*. 10s. 6d. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 26. JONES (HENRY). *Verses to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle on the Death of the Rt. Hon. Henry Pelham*. 6d. B.M.
- „ 29. WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *Creusa, Queen of Athens*. A Tragedy. 1s. 6d. B.M.  
 Whitehead's receipt for 100 guineas 'for all my Right to the copy of *Creusa*' is dated May 21st, 1754.
- „ - DOUGLAS (GAWIN), Bishop of Dunkeld. *A Description of Winter*. . . . By Francis Fawkes. [New ed.] Newberry, Lockyer. B.M.
- „ - FORDYCE (DAVID). *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*. In Three Books. 3s. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ - *A Comment on the Late Marriage Act; or, The Devil Unmask'd*. [S.] 1s. *Pub. Adv.*
- May 9. [COOKE (WILLIAM).] *An Hymn to May*. 1s. B.M.
- „ 19. *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary*. 6s. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ - MILLAR (J.). *Poems on Several Occasions*. *Gent. Mag.*
- Sept. 20. WEEKES (NATHANIEL). *Barbados, a Poem*. To Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart. 2s. Lewis, printer. B.M.
- Nov. 4. BELLERS (FETTIPLACE). *A Delineation of Universal Law*. 3s. The Third Edition. Hughs, printer. B.M.
- „ 9. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint*. Dated 1755. Young. Private Collection.
- „ 12. *Thoughts on Gallantry, Love and Marriage*. 6d. B.M.
- „ 13. SPENCE (JOSEPH). *An Account of the Life, Character and Poems of Mr Blacklock*. 1s. B.M.
- „ 19. *A Parallel between the Power of the King of England and that of a Stadholder of the United Provinces in 1751*. Written by a Person of Distinction in Holland. 1s. 6d. *Pub. Adv.*
- “ 25. [COOPER (JOHN GILBERT).] *Letters Concerning Taste*. 2s. Dated 1755. B.M.  
 Receipt as follows: 'Rec<sup>d</sup> of Mr Dodsley for the Copy of Letters concerning Taste the value of Twenty pounds in books &c. John Gilbert Cooper Junr.'
- „ „ AUBERT DE VERTOT D'AUBEUF (R.). *The Origin of the Grandeur of the Court of Rome*. Translated by John Farrington. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ „ FORDYCE (DAVID). *Theodorus*. . . . The Third Edition. 3s. *Pub. Adv.*

- Nov. 26. CEBES. *The Fable of Cebes, or the Picture of Human Life.* In English Verse. With Notes by Thomas Scott. B.M.
- Dec. 3. SKYNNER (JOHN). *Sermon . . . at the Funeral of Baptist, Earl of Gainsborough. . . .* The Seventh Edition. 6d. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 10. [COOPER (JOHN GILBERT).] *Letters Concerning Taste.* The Second Edition. Dated 1755. B.M.
- „ 12. DALTON (JOHN). *A Descriptive Poem.* Addressed to two Ladies, at their Return from viewing the Mines, near Whitehaven. 1s. Rivington. Dated 1755. B.M.
- „ 13. *Miscellaneous Observations on the Works of the late Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.* Part I. By a Free-thinker. 1s. 6d. Dated 1755. B.M.
- „ 23. TOLDERVY (WILLIAM). *Select Epitaphs.* 2 vols. 6s. [S.] Dated 1755. B.M.
- „ - MERRICK (MARSHAL MONTAGU). *Marriage a Divine Institution.* 1s. Withers, Baldwin, Clarke. B.M.
- „ - [DENTON (THOMAS).] *Immortality; or the Consolation of Human Life.* A Monody. B.M.
- „ - [LYTTELTON (GEORGE, BARON LYTTELTON).] *Observations on the Conversion . . . of St Paul.* The Fifth Edition. B.M.
- - BAKER (HENRY). *The Microscope Made Easy.* The Fourth Edition. B.M.
- - [GRAY (THOMAS).] *An Elegy Written in a Country Church Yard.* The Ninth Edition. 6d. B.M.
- - HAY (WILLIAM). *Religio Philosophi.* The Second Edition. B.M.
- - JOHNSON (SAMUEL). *Irene. . . .* The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- - *Verses on the Subject of Death.* Sacred to the Memories of several Great Personages and Ministers of State, with a particular Regard to the Rt. Hon. Henry Pelham, Esq., and Sir William Lee, Late Lord Chief Justice of England. 1s. B.M.

## 1755.

- Jan. 15. [WEST (GILBERT).] *Observations on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.* The Fifth Edition. 5s. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 17. GATAKER (THOMAS). *Observations on the Venereal Complaint.* The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 21. *Free and Bold Truths; or a politico-critical Essay upon the Present Situation of Affairs.* 6d. B.M.



- Dec. 27. BALBY (GEORGE). *The Justice of the Supreme Being.* A Poem. 1s. [S.] Bentham, printer. B.M.
- „ 29. WILLIAMS (ZACHARIAH). *An Account of the Attempt to ascertain the Longitude at Sea by an exact Theory of the Variation of the Magnetic Needle.* English and Italian. 1s. Jefferies. B.M.
- „ 30. DUCK (STEPHEN). *Cæsar's Camp: or St George's Hill.* A Poem. 1s. B.M.
- „ - MARTIAL. *Select Epigrams.* Translated and Edited by William Hay. Latin and English. 3s. [Without Latin, 2s.] B.M.
- Hay's receipt for £60 is dated April 21, 1755.
- Feb. 7. *The Praises of Isis.* 1s. Pub. Adv.
- „ „ [COOKE (WILLIAM).] *Ode on the Powers of Eloquence.* 1s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 22. DERRICK (SAMUEL). *The Third Satire of Juvenal Imitated.* Pub. Adv.
- „ - [BOLTON (R.).] *An Answer to the Question, Where are Your Arguments against what you call Lewdness, if you make no Use of the Bible?* Whiston, White. B.M.
- Mar. 4. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Centaur not Fabulous.* 5s. Millar. S. Richardson, printer. Pub. Adv.

The two following letters in the collection of A. M. Broadley, Esq., are now printed for the first time. They refer in particular to the frontispiece for the *Centaur*. The adjoined bill is in this case made out in Millar's name, although Dodsley seems to have had an equal share in both undertakings.

(i) From Edward Young to Samuel Richardson.

August 12, 1754.

Dear Sr

If you know any proper Artist in y<sup>t</sup> way, I wish You w<sup>d</sup> show him y<sup>e</sup> grotesque Picture of a Centaur in my Dedication. If I c<sup>d</sup> have a Cut of it, I w<sup>d</sup> prefix it to y<sup>e</sup> Letters. It w<sup>d</sup> (I think) have two good Effects. 1<sup>st</sup>. It w<sup>d</sup> carry y<sup>e</sup> Reader w<sup>th</sup> more appetite thro y<sup>e</sup> Dedication, as seting (*sic*) him y<sup>e</sup> meaning of y<sup>e</sup> odd Picture before him. 2<sup>ly</sup>. It w<sup>d</sup> look as if there was more Occasion for y<sup>e</sup> Dedication (w<sup>ch</sup> is pretty long) than there seems to be at present. This seems to me a Trick to cheat y<sup>e</sup> Publick. The Question is if you'll be an Accomplice in it. A Man of Tast in Sculpture may improve on my Sketch. And reconcile anything in it, y<sup>t</sup> is wrong, to y<sup>e</sup> Sculptor's art, or reject it. I wish I knew Hogarth, or y<sup>r</sup> Friend Mr H[a]yman. You, Dear Sr, will be so good to correct me in this sudden thought, as you have kindly done in others relating to this affair. y<sup>r</sup> affectionate, & much Obliged

EYoung.

(ii) Samuel Richardson's reply.

Dear and Revd Sr,

I will endeavour to find out a proper Person for a Copper Plate. Your Reasons for one, are unanswerable. The Trick is an innocent one; even a charitable one; to cheat People into their own Good. Heartily am I an Accomplice in it. But it is not in my Power to mend it. Your Directions are extremely picturesque and well adapted. I hope this fine Weather will induce you to visit your excellent Friend, and his worthy Daughter, near Wisbeck. My best Wishes attend them. My Wife thanks Mrs Hallowes and You, Sr, for your Pigeon. Our joint Respects attend her. Ever, Sir, Yours most Affectionately  
S. Richardson.

London, Aug. 14, 1754.

(iii) Richardson's Bill.

Printed for Mr Millar, By S. Richardson.

1755.

April. Night-Thoughts, Pica Octavo,

26 Sheets and Half . . . . . £23 17 0

Novemb. Centaur, Pica Duodecimo

(Third Impression), 12 Shts. and  
Half, No 2500, @ 1l. 16s. p. Sht. . . . . 22 10 0

£46 7 0

- Mar. 4. ELLIS (JOHN). *An Essay Towards a Natural History of the Corals, Corallines, Keralophyta, etc.* [S.] B.M.
- „ 6. *A Collection of the Moral and Instructive Sentiments, Maxims, Cautions and Reflexions . . . in Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison.* 3s. 6d. [S.] S. Richardson, printer. B.M.
- „ 10. HORACE. *The First Satire of the First Book of Horace Imitated.* 1s. B.M.
- „ 14. FITZ-ADAM (ADAM), i.e. EDWARD MOORE. *The World.* Vols. 1-3. B.M.
- „ 16. [COLLET (JOHN).] *Chit-Chat, or Natural Characters of Real Life.* 2 vols. 4s. B.M.

The author is presumed to be Collet from the following two receipts.

(i) 'Novr 6th 1754. Recd of Mr Collet the Manuscript Copy of a Work entituled Chit Chat, in Consideration of which I promise to pay to the s<sup>d</sup> Mr Collet the Sum of twenty Guineas on or before the Publication of the said Work, on his giving me an Assignment for the property of the said Work. RDodsley.'

(ii) 'Novem. 6th 1754. Reced of Mr Dodsley his Note for Twenty Guineas to be paid on the publishing a Work intituled Chit Chat which when paid will be in full for said Work. Jno. Collet.'

- Mar. 18. [DODSLEY (ROBERT), *editor.*] *A Collection of Poems.*  
Vol. IV. 3s. Hughs, printer. B.M.
- " " [DODSLEY (ROBERT), *editor.*] *A Collection of Poems.*  
[Vols. 1-3.] The Fourth Edition. 9s. Hughs,  
printer. B.M.
- " 23. COOPER (JOHN GILBERT). *The Tomb of Shakespeare.*  
A Poetical Vision. 6d. B.M.
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- " 18. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Centaur not Fabulous.* The  
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- May 7. SWIFT (JONATHAN). *The Works of . . .* In Six  
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- " " *Les Delices de Windsore, or a Description of Windsor*  
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- July 10. WILSON (JOHN). *Oratio habita Cantabrigiæ, in Sacello*  
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- " 29. *Hymn to Miss Lawrence in the Pump Room at Bath.*  
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- Nov. 1. DE BETHUNE (MAXIMILIEN, DUC DE SULLY). *Memoirs*. 3 vols. 4to. Pub. Adv.  
 „ 4. DE P——. *Account of the Troubles in Persia*. Translated from the French. 2s. Pub. Adv.  
 „ 17. [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Centaur not Fabulous*. . . . The Third Edition, Corrected. 3s. Millar. S. Richardson, printer. B.M.  
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1756.

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- „ 15. MACKNIGHT (JAMES). *A Harmony of the Four Gospels.* 2 vols. [S.] B.M.
- „ 16. PARISOT (PETER). *An Humble Petition to the English Nation.* French and English. Pub. Adv.
- „ 25. *An Ode on the Present Times.* 6d. B.M.
- Jan. 26. CERVANTES SAAVEDRA (MIGUEL). *The Life . . . of . . . Don Quixote. . . .* Translated . . . by Charles Jarvis. The Third Edition. 2 vols. Tonson, Draper. B.M.
- „ 27. BOZINDE (J.). *The Theory and Practice of the French Tongue.* 6s. Pub. Adv.
- „ - DAVILA (ENRICO CATERINO). *A History of the Civil Wars in France.* Translated from the French. Pub. Adv.
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- Feb. 10. HORACE. *The Seventeenth Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated.* 1s. B.M.
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- „ 20. DOUGLASS (WILLIAM). *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvement, and Present State of the British Settlements in North America.* 2 vols. 12s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 26. BLACKLOCK (THOMAS). *Poems. . . .* To which is Prefix'd, An Account of the Life, Character, and Writings of the Author, by the Reverend Mr [Joseph] Spence. Pub. Adv.
- „ - *History of Cræsus, King of Lydia.* 2s. 6d. Gent. Mag.
- - BLACKLOCK (THOMAS). *Poems.* The Second Edition. B.M.
- Mar. 6. MOORE (EDWARD). *Poems, Fables, and Plays.* £1 1s. Hughs, printer. B.M.
- „ 13. BARDWELL (THOMAS). *The Practice of Painting and Perspective made Easy.* 2s. 6d. [S.] Samuel Richardson, printer. B.M.



- Mar. 14. SALIGNAC DE LA MOTTE FENELON (FRANCOIS DE).  
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- „ 15. MASON (WILLIAM). *Odes*. [S.] Bentham, printer. B.M.
- „ 26. CLEEVE (BOUCHER). *A Scheme for preventing a further  
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- „ - EVANS (LEWIS). *Geographical, Historical, Political,  
Philosophical and Mechanical Essays*. No. II. Pub.  
Adv.
- Apr. 9. MASON (WILLIAM). *Odes*. The Second Edition. Pub.  
Adv.
- „ 11. [CAMBRIDGE (RICHARD OWEN).] *An Elegy written in an  
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- „ „ BLACKLOCK (THOMAS). *Poems*. The Third Edition.  
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From the following letter from Dodsley to Blacklock, dated July 16 [1757], it would seem that the poems did not continue to sell as well as could have been wished.

‘ Dear Sir,

‘ Very often hath my conscience reproached me with my indolence, my neglect, (I am really ashamed to give it so harsh a name as it deserves) in not writing to you for so long an interval, and your kindness in studying excuses for me doubles my confusion. But I have really had a most dreadful year of it with the Gout ; I was for five months nail’d down to my chair incapable of setting a foot to the ground ; and am

now after eight months' confinement not able to walk 100 Yards. But this, I must acknowledge, is no sufficient apology, and I therefore throw myself entirely on your good nature. I thank you very kindly for the pleasure your short, but very comprehensive grammar gave me: but tho' I like it exceedingly, I am really so far from being a competent judge of it, having never had a grammatical education, that it would be impertinent in me to pretend to give any opinion of it. I will venture, however, to say that tho' very concise it is to me quite clear: and I believe when explain'd by a good master, will contribute to give boys a better idea of y<sup>e</sup> nature of Language than they commonly gain at school. And I really & sincerely think that you have as little occasion to apologize for the purity of your language (I will not say as any scotchman, but) as any Englishman I know. I heartily wish I could give you as good an account of the sale of your poems as they deserve, but to say the truth they sell but very slowly; & I will send any number you please to Scotland whenever you direct me to whom I must send them. As to settling the account, I beg you will not be in haste about it, I should be very sorry to send you an account without a ballance in your favour. Lord Lyttelton is not at present in London; I may possibly see him at his house in the Country in about a fortnight when I will speak to him; but as he is at present quite out of place, I believe he is much out of power. However, if he can do you any service only by writing to the Duke of Argyle, I should hope he will not be averse to it: and if you will let me know particularly what it is you would have his Lordship ask of the Duke, I will certainly mention it to him; for I beg you will believe, however lazy my hand may be, my heart is very sincerely and affectionately Yours.

- May 26. *Leucothoe*, a Dramatick Poem. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ - *New and Accurate Descriptions of the present Great Roads . . . of Great Britain and Wales.* 4s. B.M.
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- Oct. 3. *Artificial Death, or the Iniquity and Danger of withholding Corn.* By a Clergyman. 1s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 26. W. (T.). *A Treatise on a Curious Quadrant.* 5s. B.M.

- Oct. - CIBBER (COLLEY). *An Apology for the Life of . . .*  
The Fourth Edition. 2 vols. 6s. B.M.
- Nov. 11. [HAWKESWORTH (JOHN).] *The Adventurer*. 4 vols.  
3rd ed. 12s. B.M.
- „ 25. *Reflections Previous to the Establishment of a Militia*.  
1s. B.M.
- „ - BALBY (GEORGE). *The Wisdom of the Supreme Being*.  
A Poem. [S.] Bentham, printer. B.M.
- Dec. 1. *A History of the East Indies*. 2 vols. 10s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 2. *The Present State of Europe*. The Fifth Edition.  
Longman, Hitch, Hawes, Rivington. Dated 1757.  
B.M.
- „ 17. COX (DANIEL). *A Letter to a Friend on the Subject of*  
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printer. Dated 1757. B.M.
- „ 28. LISLE (EDWARD). *Observations in Husbandry*. 18s.  
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- - [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Complaint*. A New Edition.  
Millar. B.M.
- - CHESELDEN (WILLIAM). *The Anatomy of the Human*  
*Body*. The Seventh Edition, with 40 Copper-plates.  
Hitch. B.M.

## 1757.

- Jan. 1. *The London Chronicle: or Universal Evening Post*.  
Nos. 1-11 bear Dodsley's name. See p. 96. B.M.
- „ 7. HORACE. *Epistolæ*. 2 vols. The Second Edition.  
[S.] Pub. Adv.
- Feb. 4. WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *Elegies*. With an Ode to the  
Tiber. 1s. B.M.
- „ 7. VOLTAIRE (AROUET DE). *Epistle from . . . to the King*  
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- Mar. 4. CLEEVE (BOUCHER). *Scheme for preventing . . . in-*  
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Pub. Adv.
- „ 5. FITZ-ADAM (ADAM), i.e. EDWARD MOORE. *The World*.  
Vols. 4-6. 9s. B.M.
- „ 12. MAINTENON (MADAME DE). *Memoirs*. . . . Translated  
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[Sarah Fielding]. 5 vols. 15s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 15. DYER (JOHN). *The Fleece*. A Poem. B.M.
- „ „ SWABY ( ). *An Ode to Lord Blakeney*. Pub. Adv.

- Mar. 15. LE DRAN (HENRI FRANÇOIS). *The Operations in Surgery of . . .* By Thomas Gataker. The Third Edition. Pub. Adv.
- „ 16. [COOPER (JOHN GILBERT).] *Letters Concerning Taste.* The Third Edition. 3s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 30. [JENYNS (SOAME).] *A Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil.* 2s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 31. *An Essay on the two Powers or Properties of the Human Soul.* Pub. Adv.
- Apr. 7. *The Great Shepherd.* A Sacred Pastoral. 1s. B.M.
- „ 10. DUNCOMBE (JOHN). *The Feminead.* The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 12. [BURKE (EDMUND).] *An Account of the European Settlements in America.* In Two Volumes. 8s. B.M.  
 Burke's receipt for 50 Guineas for this work is dated Jan. 5, 1757.
- „ 16. HIGHMORE (ELIZABETH). *Ambition.* A Poem. 1s. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 18. *Four Topographical Letters written in 1755 on a Journey thro' the Counties of Bedford, Northants, etc. . . .* 1s. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 21. [BURKE (EDMUND).] *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful.* 3s. B.M.
- „ 23. *Theatrical Records.* Pub. Adv.
- „ 28. *A Review of the Military Operations in North America.* 3s. B.M.  
 Another edition appeared in the following year.  
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- May 15. WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *Elegies.* With an Ode to the Tiber. The Second Edition. B.M.
- „ 19. [FIELDING (SARAH).] *The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia.* By the Author of David Simple. Pub. Adv.
- „ 20. DE BURGH (ULICK, Marquis of CLANRICARDE). *The Memoirs and Letters of . . .* £1 11s. 6d. Hughs, printer. B.M.

Dodsley had addressed the following letter to Lord Clanricarde on April 25th.

'My Lord,  
 'As the Memoirs & Letters of the Marquiss of Clanricarde are now quite finisht, I must beg your Lordship's directions with regard to the presents, particularly what must be done with that intended for his Majesty. I was in hopes your Lordship would have come to Town on this occasion; and the more

so, as I am in some concern about the sale of y<sup>e</sup> work, being apprehensive, as it proves imperfect, that the public may not be so ready to purchase, as I expected. In which case, as I was entirely ignorant of this imperfection, I hope your Lordship will not let me be a sufferer. I shall send one neatly bound to your Lordship by y<sup>e</sup> next Carrier; & that for his Majesty is ready to be deliver'd, as soon as I receive directions. I am My Lord &c.'

- May 22. BOYCE (SAMUEL). *Poems on Several Occasions.* 5s. Pub. Adv.
- June 3. STEPHENSON (LUKE). *Essay on Natural and Revealed Religion.* 1s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 7. *The Ghost of Earnest, Great Grandfather of H.R.H the Princess Dowager of Wales.* With some Account of his Life. 1s. 6d. Whiston, White. B.M.
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- „ 29. GATAKER (THOMAS). *Observations on the Internal Use of the Solanum or Nightshade.* 6d. B.M.
- „ 31. [JENYNS (SOAME).] *Free Enquiry into . . . Evil.* The Second Edition. Pub. Adv.
- July 1. HORACE. *The Works of . . . in English Verse.* By Several Hands. Collected and published by Mr [John] Duncombe. Volume the First. 5s. B.M.
- „ 21. GATAKER (THOMAS). *Observations on . . . Nightshade.* The Second Edition. B.M.
- Aug. 9. GRAY (THOMAS). *Odes.* 1s. Printed at Strawberry Hill. For Gray's receipt, see p. 164. B.M.
- Sept. 4. LOWTH (ROBERT). *A Sermon preached at St Nicholas's Church in Newcastle.* June 23, 1757. [S.] Thompson (Newcastle), printer. B.M.
- „ 30. LISLE (EDWARD). *Observations on Husbandry.* The Second Edition. 2 vols. 10s. Hitch, Hawes, Rivington, Fletcher, Sandby. Hughs, printer. B.M.
- Oct. 5. 'MY FRIEND.' *Poison Detected: or Frightful Truths.* 1s. 6d. Osborn, Corbet, Griffiths, James. B.M.
- „ 27. GATAKER (THOMAS). *Observations on . . . Nightshade.* The Fourth Edition. To which is added a Supplement. 1s. B.M.
- „ - *A Treatise on Bread, and the Abuses practised in making it, as occasioning the decrease and degeneracy of the people.* 1s. 6d. Gent. Mag.
- Nov. 11. COOPER (JOHN GILBERT). *Epistles to the Great from Aristippus in Retirement.* 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 23. PLINIUS. *The Letters of . . .* with Remarks by William Melmoth. A New Edition. 2 vols. 8s. Pub. Adv.



- Nov. 24. [BURKE (EDMUND).] *An Account of the European Settlements in America.* The Second Edition, with Improvements. 2 vols. Dated 1758. B.M.
- Dec. 14. GATAKER (THOMAS). *Observations . . . on Nightshade.* The Fifth Edition. 1s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 15. *An Address humbly offered to the Ladies of Great Britain, relating to the most valuable Part of Ornamental Manufacture in their Dress.* Pub. Adv.
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- „ - WOODCOCK (JOHN). *Lottery Schemes in General, calculated to raise any sums of Money without enhancing the Publick Debts or Taxes.* 6d. Gent. Mag.
- - CHAMBERS (SIR WILLIAM). *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils.* [S.] B.M.

1758.

- Jan. 13. *The Conduct of Major General Shirley . . . briefly stated.* 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 24. [COOPER (JOHN GILBERT).] *The Call of Aristippus.* Epistle IV. 6d. B.M.
- Feb. 8. WHITEHEAD (WILLIAM). *Verse to the People of England.* 1758. 6s. B.M.
- „ „ SQUIRE (SAMUEL). *Indifference to Religion Inexcusable.* 4s. B.M.
- „ 14. *Essays on the Principles of Natural Religion and Morality.* The Second Edition. Pub. Adv.
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- „ - FORDYCE (DAVID). *The Elements of Moral Philosophy.* The Third Edition. 3s. B.M.
- Mar. 6. *The Conduct of Major General Shirley.* . . . The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 16. AKENSIDE (MARK). *Ode to the Country Gentlemen of England.* 6d. Pub. Adv.

- Mar. 21. *The Last War of the Beasts. A Fable.* 3s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 23. HORACE. *Imitations of . . .* by Thomas Neville. 2s. [S.] B.M.
- „ - [DODSLEY (ROBERT), editor.] *A Collection of Poems.* Vols. V.-VI. Hughs, printer. B.M.
- „ - [DODSLEY (ROBERT), editor.] *A Collection of Poems.* Vol. IV. The Second Edition. Hughs, printer. B.M.
- „ - [DODSLEY (ROBERT), editor.] *A Collection of Poems.* Vols. 1-3. The Fifth Edition. Hughs, printer. B.M.
- Apr. 2. AKENSIDE (MARK). *An Ode to the Country Gentlemen of England.* The Second Edition. B.M.
- „ 6. *Inscriptionum Romanorum Metricarum Delectus.* 2s. B.M.
- „ 12. *The Canto added by Malphæus to Virgil's Twelve Books of the Aeneid,* from the original Bombastick, done into Hudibrastick . . . with Notes. 1s. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 17. EPICETUS. *All the Works of. . . .* Translated from the Original Greek by Elizabeth Carter. [S.] Samuel Richardson, printer. B.M.
- „ 21. [JENYNS (SOAME).] *A Free Enquiry into . . . Evil.* The Third Edition. Pub. Adv.
- „ - B. (E.). *A Treatise proposing some Means of lessening the Burden of the Poor Rates.* Pub. Adv.
- „ - BAILEY (WILLIAM). *A Treatise on the Better Employment and more Comfortable Support of the Poor in Workhouses.* 2s. [S.] B.M.
- May 5. BAYLY (ANSELM). *An Introduction to Languages.* 5s. Rivington, Fletcher, Valliant. B.M.
- „ 7. BARCLAY (JAMES). *The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue.* 2s. [S.] B.M.
- „ 8. *The Conduct of Admiral Knowles on the late Expedition Set in a True Light.* 1s. Clarke. B.M.
- „ 17. *The Conduct of Admiral Knowles. . . .* The Second Edition. 1s. Clarke. B.M.
- „ 25. AGAR (WILLIAM). *Military Devotion, or the Soldier's Duty to God.* 6s. [S.] B.M.
- „ „ [FIELDING (SARAH).] *The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia. . . .* The Second Edition. 3s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 27. LOWTH (ROBERT). *The Life of William of Wykeham.* 5s. Millar. B.M.
- Several letters from Lowth to Dodsley on the subject of this book are in the British Museum. Add. MSS. 35339.

- May - FITZOSBORNE (SIR THOMAS), *i.e.* WILLIAM MELMOTH. *Letters on Several Subjects*. A New Edition. Pub. Adv.
- „ - HANWAY (JONAS). *Letter V. to Robert Dingley, Esq.; Being a Proposal for the Relief and Employment of Friendless Girls and Repenting Prostitutes*. 6d. [S.] B.M.
- The preceding letters bear no booksellers' names.
- June 1. [HUCKELL (REV. JOHN).] *Avon*. A Poem. Baskerville, printer. B.M.
- „ 12. LOCKMAN (JOHN). *Truth: a Vision*. Most humbly addressed to the Prince of Wales. 6d. B.M.
- July 2. BUSKE (AMYAS). *Socrates*. A Dramatic Poem. 3s. Pub. Adv.
- Sept. 18. *An Essay on Monopolies, or Reflections on the Frauds practised by Dealers in Corn*. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ - HANWAY (JONAS). *Thoughts on the Plan for a Magdalen House for repenting Prostitutes*. 1s. 6d. Gent. Mag.
- Oct. 8. LOWTH (ROBERT). *A Sermon . . . at the Visitation of . . . Richard, Lord Bishop of Durham. . . . July 27, 1758*. 6d. B.M.
- „ 20. MACKENZIE (JAMES). *The History of Health, and the Art of preserving it*. 5s. [S.] Gordon, printer. B.M.
- „ 22. [AKENSIDE (MARK).] *Notes on the Postscript to a Pamphlet intitled "Observations Anatomical and Physiological."* . . . By Alex. Monro. 6d. B.M.
- Nov. 2. LOWTH (ROBERT). *A Defence of the Conduct of the Warden of Winchester College*. Pub. Adv.
- „ 12. HUME (DAVID). *Remarks upon the Natural History of Religion*. With Dialogues on Heathen Idolatry and the Christian Religion. By S. T. 2s. B.M.
- „ 16. *Manifesto of the Court of France*. 2s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 29. LOCKMAN (JOHN). *Verses on the Birthday of H.R.H. the Princess Dowager of Wales*. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- Dec. 5. WALPOLE (HON. HORACE). *A Catalogue of the Royal and noble Authors of England*. The Second Edition Corrected and Enlarged. 2 vols. Graham. Dated 1759. B.M.
- „ 7. DODSLEY (ROBERT). *Cleone*. A Tragedy. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 21. [COMBRUNE (MICHAEL).] *An Essay on Brewing*. With a View of establishing the Principles of the Art. 3s. 6d. B.M.
- „ „ *The Case of the Dutch Ships Considered*. 1s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 29. *The Brothers*. 2 vols. 12mo. B.M.

- Dec. - [DODSLEY (ROBERT).] *The Oeconomy of Human Life.*  
The Ninth Edition. 1s. B.M.
- „ - SPENCE (JOSEPH). *A Parallel in the Manner of  
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- „ „ KNOWLES (J.). *Observations on the Divine Mission and Administration of Moses.* 1s. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- Dec. 2. *Letters from Sophia to Mira.* 2s. 6d. Dated 1763. B.M.
- „ 7. MASON (WILLIAM). *Elegies.* 1s. [S.] Dated 1763. B.M.
- „ 11. AESOP. *Select Fables.* 'A New Edition of the Third Edition, Corrected.' Pub. Adv.
- „ 16. GESSNER. *The Death of Abel.* The Fourth Edition. Pub. Adv.
- „ 21. *Memoirs of the Chevalier Pierrepont.* 2 vols. 4s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 28. MASON (WILLIAM). *Elegies.* The Second Edition. [S.] Dated 1763. Pub. Adv.
- - SCOTT (JAMES). *An Hymn to Repentance.* [S.] Bentham, printer. B.M.

In Dodsley's lists for this year, the fifth edition of *Caractacus* is recorded.

## 1763.

- Jan. 10. DOBSON ( ). *Chronological Annals of the War.* In Two Parts. 4s. [S.] Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. B.M.
- „ 17. *The School for Wives, in a Series of Letters.* 2s. 6d. B.M.
- The following receipt exists: 'Febry: ye: 19<sup>th</sup>: 1763. Rec<sup>d</sup>: of Mr Dodsley Twenty four pounds fifteen Shillings for the Use of Mr Cooper of Shottisham in Norfolk Rebecca Edwards for y<sup>e</sup> School of Wives.'
- „ 22. [JERNINGHAM (EDWARD).] *The Magdalene: an Elegy.* By the Author of the Nunnery. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- Feb. 1. *Two Elegies.* I. The Bee. II. The Bullfinch. 6d. B.M.
- „ 10. [SHERIDAN (Mrs T.).] *The Discovery.* A Comedy. 1s. 6d. Davies, Kearsley, Coote, Walter. B.M.
- The following receipt exists. 'Decr: 29<sup>th</sup>: 1762. Reced of Mr James Dodsley Twenty six pounds five hillings for a fourth share of a new Comedy called y<sup>e</sup> Discovery written by Mrs Sheridan for Self & Partners Thomas Davies.'



- Feb. 11. MILWARD (THOMAS). *Peleia, or the Old Woman*. A mythological Eclogue. 1s. B.M.
- „ 19. MERRICK (JAMES). *Poems on Sacred Subjects*. 1s. [S.] Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. B.M.
- „ 24. [SHERIDAN (Mrs T.).] *The Discovery*. . . . The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. Davies, Kearsley, Coote, Walter. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 28. *The Case of going to War for the Sake of procuring* . . . *Trade* . . . *considered*. 1s. *Pub. Adv.*
- Mar. 14. *Some Considerations on the Proper Means of regulating private Madhouses*. 1s. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 15. DELAP (JOHN). *Concio ad Clerum*. . . . Apr. XII. MDCCLXII. 1s. [S.] Bentham, printer. B.M.
- Apr. 3. *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry*. 1s. 6d. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 14. [LOWTH (ROBERT).] *A Short Introduction to English Grammar*. The Second Edition. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 25. KEATE (GEORGE). *The Alps*. A Poem. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- „ „ *A Plan for improving the Trade at Senegal*. 6d. B.M.
- May 5. [BURKE (EDMUND), editor.] *The Annual Register for 1762*. 6s. B.M.
- „ „ SHAW (PETER). *A New Method of Chemistry*. The Third Edition. 2 vols. *Pub. Adv.*
- „ 13. VIRGIL. *The Works of* . . . translated into English Verse . . . by several hands. [Joseph Warton, editor.] A new edition. 4 vols. 12mo. 12s. B.M.
- „ 15. DAVIS (GEORGE). *A Sermon preached at the Parish Church of Brasted, in Kent, on Thursday, 5th May, 1763*. Baker, Beecroft, Barker. B.M.
- „ 18. SEARCH (EDWARD). *Freewill, Foreknowledge and Fate*. A Fragment. 4s. B.M.
- „ 24. KIRKLAND (THOMAS). *An Essay on the Methods of suppressing Hæmorrhages from divided Arteries*. 1s. B.M.
- „ „ *Poematia partim Latine scripta, partim reddita*. 6d. *Pub. Adv.*
- Apr. 15. [JOHNSON (SAMUEL).] *The Prince of Abissinia*. The Third Edition. *Pub. Adv.*
- May 27. ANGELO (DOMINICO). *L'Ecole des Armes*. £2 2s. B.M.
- „ 30. HYDE (HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON.) *The State Letters of* . . . *during the Reign of King James the Second*. 2 vols. [S.] Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. B.M.
- June 10. TASSO (TORQUATO). *Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered* . . . translated by John Hoole. 2 vols. 10s. [S.] B.M.

- June 11. MINIFIES (Miss). *The Histories of Lady Francis S—— and Lady Caroline S——*. 4 vols. B.M.  
 The three first volumes were issued on this date, but the fourth, although bearing the same date, was not issued until May 22, 1764. Agreement exists, dated Jan. 19, 1763, whereby James Dodsley agrees to give the authoress 700 setts 'sew'd in blue covers' of her book, and to divide equally any profits there may be 'after the expences incident to the printing and publishing of it shall be defrayed including the 700 Setts.'
- „ 20. [BROOKE (FRANCES).] *The History of Lady Julia Mandeville*. 2 vols. Pub. Adv.
- July 21. COOPER (WILLIAM). *Sermon . . . at Richmond . . .* May 23rd. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- Sept. 15. [BROOKE (FRANCES).] *The History of Lady Julia Mandeville*. The Second Edition. 2 vols. Pub. Adv.
- Oct. 4. COMMENT (CUTHBERT), i.e. EDWARD SEARCH. *Man in Quest of Himself; or, a Defence of the Individuality of the Human Mind*. 1s. B.M.
- „ 26. *Satires on the Times*. 2s. Pub. Adv.
- Nov. 1. MACAULAY (CATHERINE). *A History of England from the Accession of James I.* Vol. I. Nourse, Johnson. B.M.
- „ 9. SQUIRE (SAMUEL), Bishop of St David's. *Indifference to Religion Inexcusable*. The Third Edition. 2s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 15. CANNING (GEORGE). *An Epistle from William, Lord Russell, to William, Lord Cavendish*. 1s. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 21. HAWKINS (JOHN). *Observations on the State of the Highways*. [S.] 2s. B.M.
- „ 22. [DODSLEY (ROBERT), editor.] *A Collection of Poems*. 6 vols. New ed. 18s. Hughs, printer. B.M.
- „ 23. KLOPSTOCK (FREIDRICH GOTTLIEB). *The Messiah*. Attempted from the German [by G. Collyer]. 2 vols. 6s. Durham, Field, Collyer. B.M.
- „ 24. *Advice from a Bishop*. . . . The Second Edition. 1s. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 29. *Happiness*. An Epistle to a Friend. 6d.
- Dec. 1. *England Illustrated*. 2 vols. £2 16s. Issued also in parts at 4s. B.M.
- „ 6. CANNING (GEORGE). *An Epistle from William, Lord Russell*. . . . The Second Edition. Pub. Adv.

- Dec. 21. [BROOKE (SARAH).] *The History of Lady Julia Mandeville.* 3rd edition. 2 vols. 'Printed for R. Dodsley in Pall Mall.' n.d. B.M.
- - [CLUBBE (JOHN).] *Physionomy; being a Sketch of a larger Work.* . . . By the Editor of the History . . . of Wheatfield. 1s. 6d. B.M. 1st adv. Jan. 25, 1764.
- - CHAMBERS (Sir WILLIAM). *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew.* [S.] Haberkorn, printer. B.M.
- - CIBBER (Mrs SUSANNA MARIA). *The Oracle.* A Comedy. New ed. B.M.
- - SCOTT (JAMES). *Every Man the Architect of his own Fortune: or the Art of Rising in the Church.* A Satyre. [S.] B.M.
- - SWIFT (JONATHAN). *The Works of* . . . Vol. VII. Part II. Bowyer, Davis, Reymers. B.M.
- - WALL (J.). *An Appendix to the Third Edition of Experiments and Observations on Malvern Waters.* 1s. [S.] B.M.
- - [YOUNG (EDWARD).] *The Brothers.* A Tragedy. New edition. 1s. 6d. B.M.
- - AKENSIDE (MARK). *The Pleasures of Imagination.* The Sixth Edition. 'Printed for R. Dodsley.' B.M.
- - GESSNER. *The Death of Abel.* The Fifth Edition. Durham, Field, Collyer. B.M.
- - FITZOSBORNE (Sir THOMAS), i.e. WILLIAM MELMOTH. *Letters on Several Subjects.* The Sixth Edition. Private Collection.
- - *The Preceptor.* The Fourth Edition. 2 vols. B.M.
- - [STERNE (LAWRENCE).] *The Sermons of Mr Yorick.* The Fifth Edition. 2 vols. B.M.
- - [JERNINGHAM (EDWARD).] *The Magdalens: an Elegy.* . . . The Second Edition. 6d. B.M.
- - *Experiments and Observations on the Malvern Waters.* The Second Edition. [S.] n.d., but probably this year. B.M.

1764.

- Jan. 17. GLAS (GEORGE). *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands.* 15s. Durham. B.M.
- „ 20. POLYBIUS. *Two Extracts from the Sixth Book of the General History of Polybius.* . . . Translated . . . by Mr Hampton. 3s. Hughs, printer. B.M.

- Feb. 1. *The Nun*. An elegy. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ — AKENSIDE (MARK). *De Dysenteria Commentarius*. B.M.
- „ 15. LELAND (JOHN). *The Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation*. 2 vols. Longman. Richardson and Clark, printers. B.M.
- „ 21. BOWEN (SAMUEL). *Discourses, Critical and Practical*. 2 vols. 12s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 28. KEATE (GEORGE). *The Ruins of Netley Abbey*. A Poem. 6d. Pub. Adv.
- „ 30. CALDWELL (Sir JAMES). *A brief Examination of the Question . . . to enable Papists to take real Securities for Money*. 1s. Pub. Adv.
- „ — *Elements of Rhetoric and Poetry*. 1s. Pub. Adv.
- „ — TASSO (TORQUATO). *Tasso's Jerusalem . . . translated by Mr John Hoole*. The Second Edition. 2 vols. Pub. Adv.
- Apr. 5. SHENSTONE (WILLIAM). *Works in Prose and Verse*. 2 vols. [edited by Robert Dodsley.] 12s. B.M.
- „ 9. *Considerations on the Penal Laws against Roman Catholics in England and America*. By a Country Gentleman. 1s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 17. [COOPER (JOHN GILBERT).] *Poems on Several Subjects*. By the Author of the *Life of Socrates*. 2s. 6d. B.M.
- „ 21. WOODHOUSE (JAMES). *Poems on Sundry Occasions*. [S.] 3s. B.M.
- May 14. BIGLAND (RALPH). *Observations on Marriages, Baptisms and Burials as preserved in parochial Registers*. [S.] W. Richardson and S. Clarke, printers. 3s. B.M.
- „ 16. WYNNE (RICHARD). *The New Testament collated*. 2 vols. 12s. Pub. Adv.
- „ 22. MINIFIES (Miss). *The Histories of Lady Francis S—— and Lady Caroline S——*. Vol. IV. Dated 1763. B.M.
- „ 24. WHATELY (Miss [M.]). *Original Poems on Several Occasions*. 5s. B.M.
- „ 26. GRAINGER (JAMES). *The Sugar Cane*. A Poem . . . with notes. 4s. B.M.
- June 2. EVANS (EVAN). *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards*. Translated. 4s. B.M.
- „ 15. [PERCY (THOMAS).] *The Song of Solomon*. Newly Translated from the original Hebrew. 2s. B.M.
- July 21. SMART (CHRISTOPHER). *An Ode to the Earl of Northumberland . . . with some other Pieces*. 1s. B.M.

- Sept. 18. GATAKER (THOMAS). *Essays on Medical Subjects*. 4s. B.M.
- - [LOWTH (ROBERT).] *A Short Introduction to English Grammar*. New Edition. 12mo. Millar. B.M.
- - SWIFT (JONATHAN). *The Works of . . .* Vol. VII. Part I. Bowyer, Davis, Reymers. B.M.
- - [BROOKE (FRANCES).] *Letters from Juliet, Lady Catesby, to her Friend Lady Henrietta Campley*. The Fourth Edition. B.M.
- - BAKER (HENRY). *Employment for the Microscope*. The Second Edition. B.M.
- - AESOP. *Select Fables*. Baskerville (sic), printer. B.M.
- - WHATELY (Miss [M.]). *Original Poems on Several Occasions*. The Second Edition. B.M.
- - [BURKE (EDMUND), editor.] *The Annual Register for 1763*. B.M.
- - LOWTH (ROBERT). *A Sermon . . . at the Assizes Holden at Durham, August 15, 1764*. [S.] B.M.
- - EPICETUS. *The Morals of . . . made English in a Poetical Paraphrase*. By Ellis Walker. 'Printed for T. and D. Dodsley.' Durham, Field. Private Collection.





## APPENDIX I

### DODSLEY'S PORTRAITS

- I. Half-length, full-face, looking to the left, holding a pen in his right hand, and a letter addressed to Mr Dodsley in Bruton Street<sup>1</sup> in his left. Painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, April-June 1760. (*Life* by C. R. Leslie and T. Taylor, 1865, i. 187.) Now in the possession of H. Yates Thompson, Esq. (*See Frontispiece.*)

**D**ODSLEY seems to have allowed himself to sit on this occasion only at the earnest request of Shenstone. 'As to my face,' he writes to his friend on Dec. 1st, 1759, 'it is a subject not worth considering; however, I will make you an impudent proposal: if you will exchange faces with me when you come up to Town, we will both sit to the same painter.' Shenstone fell in with the suggestion, but his health did not allow him to visit London: accordingly he sat at home to his friend Edward Alcock at irregular intervals, it would seem, during the following year. 'And will you really consent,' writes Dodsley early in 1760,<sup>2</sup> 'to an exchange of pictures? Upon my

<sup>1</sup> This is not the only reference to Dodsley's house in Bruton Street. In the preface to James Woodhouse's *Poems* (1764) 'Mr Dodsley in Bruton Street' is mentioned as one of those who were willing to receive subscriptions on the author's behalf.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Hull's *Select Letters*, 1778. Thomas Hull, the comedian, was a friend of Shenstone's: he printed an interesting

word, you make out a sorry bargain for yourself : however, to give you as little reason as may be to regret your compliance, I will sit to one of the best artists ; and to supply the want of merit in the original will endeavour to give as much as I can to the copy. If you have anything to suggest on this subject (as you seem to hint) you will be so good as to let me have a line, because as soon as I am able to get abroad, which I hope will be in a few days, I intend to consult with Reynolds about it. . . . I am glad your likeness is a strong one ; and I think the attitude you are drawn in is a good one : pray is that the picture intended for me ? ' In June he was writing again on the same subject. ' I am glad,' he writes, after the poet has expressed his approval of some idea, ' you like my design for the picture : and how agreeably you have contrived to flatter me about it. But,' he adds, ' say what you will, I will have a picture of Mr Shenstone ; you will have one only of Dodsley ; and a Shenstone by Alcock will certainly be more valuable than a Dodsley even by Reynolds. I read to him,' he continues, ' that part of your letter which related to him ; he desires his compliments, and would be glad if you came to Town that you sate to him. I hope I shall be able to send the picture to you before I set out on my journey, but it is not yet finished.' A week later, however, Reynolds had put the finishing touches to it. ' My face,' writes Dodsley, ' is quite finished, and I believe very like. I fancy I shall send it . . . on Monday se'ennight. If the picture should turn up yellowish, by being packed up, Mr Reynolds advises that it be set in the sun for two hours, which will quite recover it.' Some months passed before Alcock's portrait of Shenstone, which now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, reached London.

Dodsley's portrait was returned to him at Shenstone's death, and at his own death became James Dodsley's series of letters, including several of Dodsley's, but was not very accurate in copying the manuscripts.

property. From him it passed to a niece, Ann Dodsley (a daughter of Isaac), and on her death it went to James Dodsley Tawny, whose widow presented it to Ann Cuff of Frome, Isaac's grand-daughter. At Miss Cuff's death it passed out of the family's possession.

Several engravings of this portrait have been made, the best being those by Ravenet in 1777 and by Mackenzie in 1809.

One or more old copies apparently exist, but have not been seen.

II. Half-length, seated, facing the spectator. Painted by William Alcock. Oval (11 ins. by 9 ins.) Now in the National Portrait Gallery.

## APPENDIX II

### DODSLEY'S OPINION OF SERVANTS

**A**N interesting letter signed 'R. D.' on the employment of foreign servants appeared in the *London Chronicle* for Dec. 24-27, 1757. It is almost certainly written by Dodsley, and may here be given as an expression of the views of a man who could speak from actual experience. It followed two other letters on the same subject.

'The observations of your correspondent concerning the national advantages arising from the employment of foreign servants are very pertinent and just ; but as the benefits which he has pointed out are merely accidental, without any patriotic intention in the persons who retain them as domesticks, it occasions the liberty of a few animadversions on the subject, which, I apprehend, deserves to be further canvassed and considered before we adopt the maxims of either side for true doctrine.

'The whole number of foreign servants (except a few Swiss) are of the French nation : I shall therefore consider the propriety or impropriety of receiving this particular class of people into the families of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom.

'I think the sentiments of the gentleman are both harsh and exaggerated where he asserts, "An Englishman in Livery is a kind of monster," and adds, "That he is a person born free with the obvious badge of servility." And also, "That he who wears another's habit, tho' for



pay, forfeits his freedom." A livery suit may indeed be fitly called a badge of servility, but then it does not convey ideas of slavery. The necessity of the subordinate ranks, conditions, and offices of men, sufficiently obviates the dishonour and disgrace of servitude. It rests only to determine whether a person by wearing a livery loses his freedom. Slavery and freedom are mere relative terms, and the import of them only to be gathered when applied to particular circumstances; as England to its great honour knoweth not slavery, nor loss of freedom, (but by covenant and consent) in the persons of the most menial and servile of her subjects, the position is too absurd to require a further illustration. The reduction of the price of labour may be better effected, if necessary, by a naturalization of foreign Protestants, useful labourers and industrious artificers, than by an importation of fifty thousand French servants, professed Papists, whose religious and political principles have an apt and natural tendency to the subversion of our religion, laws and government.

' The qualities of foreign servants as opposed to English ones, their suppliant and submissive obedience, certainly deserve the preference; but not therefore to be envied: And, if I mistake not, it is this behaviour, joined with a fondness for French fashions, which induced our men of fortune to retain them in their service; for what can be a more proper indication of true greatness, independence and power, than an English Lord or gentleman, many of whom value themselves only on their title, rank and dignity, contrasted with the abject, servile flattery and obedience of a fawning Frenchman. The known reputation of English food, wages and freedom are powerful incentives to a poor meagre Frenchman, to visit this island, especially as he meets with no difficulty in acquiring a place, nor needs any other character than being of that nation: so that the false vanity of the English gentry, and the right measures which the French servants pursue

for their real interests, are the true mutual motives I conceive of each of their grounds of action.

‘Can it be agreeable to sound or good policy to wish or desire an increase of foreign, or rather French servants, from the accidental and slender advantages which may accrue to our country, when our principles and conduct are liable to be injured by an imitation of French manners, language and dress? And altho’ the same cannot be produced without our permission, yet *similis similo gaudet*, the force of custom is very great and prevalent, and always begets a similarity of manners; else whence the general satyirical expression of our countrymen being *Frenchified*?

‘The interests of the English and French nations seem incompatible in a state of peace; can it therefore be consistent with the rules of prudence, when we are engaged in a war, in defence of our natural and just rights, with a people, cruel, barbarous and tyrannical, to receive its subjects into our bosom and caress them as friends, when they are undoubtedly our avowed enemies, and are bound by the ties of love to their country, as far as their abilities and influence can extend, to communicate whatever may be necessary for their safety and our destruction? The admission therefore of these servants into the families of the Great is certainly very impolitick, and the public vindication of the practice I shall ever esteem very imprudent.

‘I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

‘R. D.’

## APPENDIX III

### DODSLEY'S DEATH AND WILL

**M**OST of the biographical notices, including Mr Tedder's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, give the date of Dodsley's death as Sept. 25th, 1764, but the gravestone, erected, one supposes, by Joseph Spence, may be taken to be correct in giving the date as Sept. 23rd. It was the *burial* which took place on Sept. 25th, and, even if one sets aside the easy mistake of reading 5 for 3, one may understand from this fact, recorded by John Sykes in his *Local Records and Historic Register of Remarkable Events in Northumberland & Durham* (1833), how the latter date has crept into so many of the notices. Nearly all the chief London newspapers, however, give the correct date—these including the *London Evening Post* ('On Sunday last,' *i.e.* Sept. 23rd), *New Daily Advertiser*, *Gazetteer*, *Lloyd's Evening Post*, and the *Public Advertiser*.

Dodsley's Will is as follows :

This is the last will and testament of me Robert Dodsley, of the Parish of Saint George Hanover Square, being willing and desirous to settle and dispose of such temporal estate as God hath been pleased to intrust me with whilst I have strength and ability so to do. In the first place I desire that all my just debts and general expences may be paid and satisfied as soon as conveniently may be

after my decease. Item I give and bequeath unto my brother Alvory Dodsley the sum of four hundred pounds. Item I give and bequeath to my brother John Dodsley the sum of two hundred pounds. Item I give and bequeath unto my niece Sarah daughter of my said brother John the sum of one hundred pounds. Item I give and bequeath unto my brother Isaac Dodsley the sum of two hundred pounds. Item I give and bequeath unto my niece Kitty, daughter of my brother Isaac Dodsley, the sum of one hundred pounds. Item I give to my sister Alice Dyer wife of Mr Francis Dyer the sum of two hundred pounds and all my household furniture, plate, linen, china, and pictures, to and for her own sole and separate use and benefit, and I do direct that the same shall not be subject or liable to the debts controul power or disposition of her present or any future husband. Item I give and bequeath unto my niece Kitty Dyer the sum of three hundred pounds : all which legacys I do direct shall be paid within two years after my decease out of the principal sum of two thousand pounds due to me on Bond from my brother James Dodsley. Item I give and bequeath unto my said brother James Dodsley the remaining sum of the said two thousand pounds (after payment of the said legacys) together with all the residue and remainder of my personal estate, ready money, books, copys, shares of copys, and all other my effects whatsoever of which I shall die possessed or intituled unto at the time of my decease. And I do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint my said brother Alvory Dodsley and my brother-in-law Francis Dyer executors of this my Will, hereby revoking and making void all former and other Wills by me at any time heretofore made, and do declare this only to be my last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I the said Testator Robert Dodsley have hereunto set my hand and seal this seventh day of July one thousand seven hundred and sixty.

RDODSLEY [seal].

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the said Testator Robert Dodsley as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who in his presence and in the presence of each other have hereunto set our hands as witness thereto :

BERN<sup>d</sup> YOUNG } Clerks to Messrs Hindley and  
W. MARTINDALE } Eamonson, Bury St., St James's.

[Proved 3rd Oct. 1764.]



## APPENDIX IV

### A NOTE ON THE POSITION OF *TULLY'S HEAD*

**A**FTER the sheets of this book had been printed, Mr Austin Dobson very kindly drew my attention to a woodcut of 'Dodsley's House and Shop in Pall Mall,' which is given in Chambers' *Encyclopædia of Literature*, 1844, 1st Sect., ii., 115. This would suggest that his shop actually fronted on Pall Mall, the house shown being four-storied, with a shop-window between the little arch on its right, and a door on its left. From an examination of contemporary plans and the Westminster rate-books, however, I am inclined to think that the house shown in the woodcut (the origin of which does not appear) belongs to a rather later period, when James Dodsley was head of the firm, and when much rebuilding on both sides of Pall Mall had taken place. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the *Fashionable Court Guide* for 1792, James Dodsley, Esq., is given as living at 56 Pall Mall.

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<sup>1</sup> As the entries in the Bibliography are arranged in chronological order, the Index refers only to the Text, save where unpublished letters have been printed.

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